

# Eastern Pequot Indians of Connecticut

Petition for Federal Acknowledgement as an American Indian Tribe



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*Frontispiece. Eastern Pequot powwow, 1991.*

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**EASTERN PEQUOT INDIANS  
OF CONNECTICUT**

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July 1, 1998

Mr. Lee Fleming, Acting Director  
Branch of Acknowledgement and Research  
Bureau of Indian Affairs  
Department of the Interior  
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It is with our greatest pride and pleasure that we present to your office our Petition for Federal Acknowledgement. We understand that the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research will review it with great scrutiny, and we are confident that it will meet your every expectation.

We believe that the seven sections of the document and its supporting material taken together address the breadth and scope of complexities inherent in the Eastern Pequot Indians of Connecticut. Our petition clearly defines those complexities which are not unique to Eastern tribes in general, since they result from the myriad impacts of more than four hundred years since our first contact with peoples whom today comprise the majority cultures of the American society.

We are grateful that part of life embraces a 'pendulum swing.' That swing dictates that events, issues and actions repeat themselves through time, giving decision makers the opportunity to learn from the lessons of history and right the wrongs of their predecessors; and giving those affected by those decisions, the gift of hope. As we know you agree, the taking of the integrity, spirit and indeed, lives of the Pequots in the 17<sup>th</sup> century changed the fabric of our tribe in the ensuing generations for all of our people from the babies through the elders. After all the bloodshed and countless pages of legislation, it is highly dramatic, if not difficult to conceive, that the ability to right this historic wrong is now, simply, yours. For you, it is a largely straightforward process and decision; but for us, as you well know, it is a long overdue, highly emotional, infinitely important act that will bring rebirth to the 647 members of our Nation, as well as the many lives that we touch individually and collectively.

As for those lives we touch, we well know our friends; but we are at times, even more aware of those who voice concern, criticism and fear. Despite their projections and anxieties over how our acknowledgement may impact, if not determine altogether the future of their communities, it is gratifying that even among our loudest critics, there are many that recognize the invaluable right that belongs to the Eastern Pequots. It is incumbent on us, therefore, to dialog with those who wrongly are considered our enemies by some, embracing them in our growth and sharing with them the benefits that come to us as an acknowledged tribe.

History has shown that the harsh voices outside of our tribe are, in the main, potentially reasonable, and it is reason that has served as a tenet upon which much of the strength of the United States has been founded. Elusive to our tribe thus far, however, is the calming of the harsh voice from within -- that of the small group of family members who wish to separate themselves for obscure reasons, among them, sadly, the dark skin color of the main tribal body. Division is at best painful, and at worst, deadly.

*The Eastern Pequot Indians of Connecticut is also known as the Paucatuck Eastern Pequot Tribe.*

The Eastern Pequot Indians of Connecticut believes that it is right and reasonable that the Bureau of Indian Affairs finds one tribe rising up out of the two petitions that you will review simultaneously. Simply put, the LeGault-Cunha group a/k/a the Paucatuck Eastern Pequot Tribe is as much a part of the history, genealogy and community of the Eastern Pequot Indians as are the Sebastian, Hamlin, Wilson, Smith, Jones, Lewis, Perry, Hazzard and Bourne families among others in our contemporary community. As the Tribe's government, this Tribal Council pledges its full support to the staff of the Interior Department when it eventually reaches this singular finding, in defining and implementing a governmental reconciliation fair to all families involved.

As we've said, we're grateful for pendulum swings and the opportunities they recreate for us -- and for all of us. We're grateful, too, for our professional friends who know anthropology, genealogy, history and law, and therefore were able to help us tell our story in a manner that you may best come to understand and believe what we as a tribe have always known to be true.

We close, finally, with a confidence that your office will review our petition and meet with our people in the same spirit of fairness and honesty that Native Americans and, indeed, all Americans have come to require and expect of people who serve the United States government. And with the Great Spirit looking over your shoulder and breathing into you the breath of what's right and good, may your dramatic yet simple act to right the wrong done to our ancestors come quickly -- to the benefit of our elders, their families, and our next seven generations.

Sincerely,

*Chief Hocheo - Roy Sebastian*

The Eastern Pequot Indians of Connecticut Tribal Council  
*Its individual names are recorded as follows:*

*Mary E. Sebastian*  
Mary E. Sebastian, Chairwoman

*Mark R. Sebastian*  
Mark R. Sebastian, Vice Chair

*Dawnrae Rocha*  
Dawnrae Rocha, Secretary

*Ronald Wolf Jackson*  
Ronald Wolf Jackson, Treasurer *(LW)*

*Thomas A. Perry (ms.)*  
Thomas A. Perry, Councilor

*Lawrence E. Wilson, III*  
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*Darlene Hamlin*  
Darlene Hamlin, Councilor

*Lynn D. Powers*  
Lynn D. Powers, Councilor



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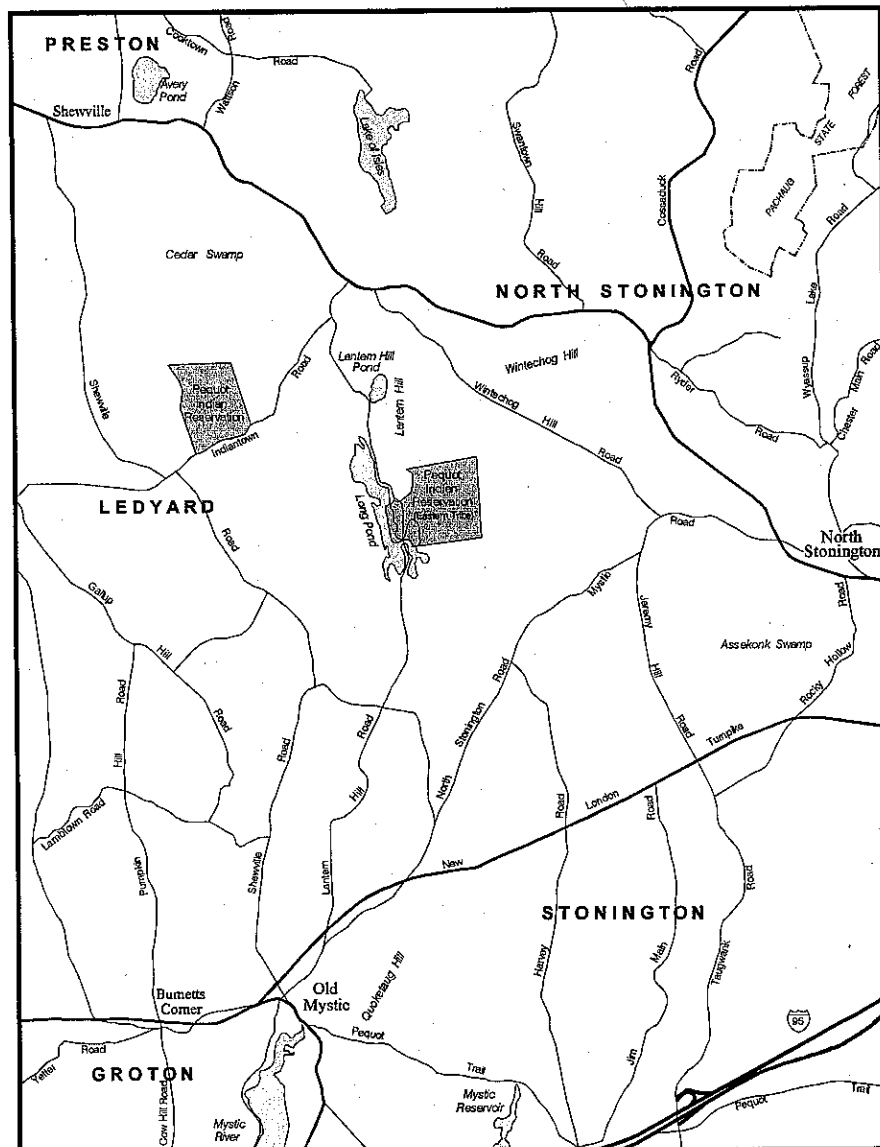
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## Introduction to the Petition

The Eastern Pequot Tribe of Connecticut has its origins in the aftermath of the Pequot War of 1637. The tribe's reservation at North Stonington was established in 1683, a reservation that has been continuously occupied by members of the tribe and today remains essentially undiminished.

By about 1700 four Indian tribes were resident in southeastern New England, including the Eastern Pequot Tribe, all of which were recognized by either the colony of Connecticut or Rhode Island. Of these four tribes, three are federally recognized: The Mashantucket Pequot Tribe, the Mohegan Indian Tribe, and the Narragansett Indian Tribe. The Eastern Pequot Tribe remains a state recognized tribe.



Map 1. The Eastern Pequot reservation and surrounding areas.

The Eastern Pequot Tribe of Connecticut submits this petition for federal acknowledgment as an American Indian Tribe pursuant to 25 CFR Part 83. The Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (hereinafter, Branch) currently has on file binders containing the tribe's documentation submitted previously in support of its petition, along with two responses to the tribe's 13 March 1990 OD letter. The present submission completes the Eastern Pequot Tribe's petition and, in general, augments or supersedes all previous submissions. The tribal roll has been updated and is furnished here in hard copy and in computer diskette formats. The tribe's genealogies also have been updated and, to facilitate their examination, transferred to the software program Roots IV (see Appendix F).

This petition of the Eastern Pequot Tribe consists of written responses to each of the seven criteria under the regulations, i.e., criteria (a) through (f), and includes all supporting documentation. The supporting documentation has been arranged to assist Branch staff members in their review of the petition, that is, all of the documents cited in the present submission are attached herein. While the majority of this documentation was part of the tribe's earlier submission, it, along with new documentation, is presented here in files separate from those now held by the Branch. Therefore, there is no special requirement that Branch personnel refer to the documentation submitted earlier, which is admittedly inadequately ordered.

Criterion (a) is a compilation of a variety of sources that identify the Eastern Pequot Tribe as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis from 1900 to the present.

Criterion (b) establishes that the Eastern Pequot Tribe comprises a distinct community and has existed as a distinct community on a continuous basis from at least the establishment of its reservation in 1683 to the present. The discussion begins with a history of the origins and formation of the Eastern Pequot community. In addition, the unique characteristics of the Eastern Pequot community are described. This is followed by the presentation of evidence in the form of an extensive record of overseer reports created by the colony and then the state of Connecticut to 1940, which also contain enumerations of tribal members. Additional evidence for community consists of descriptions of religious and social gatherings of the tribe, the sharing of resources among tribal members, and the Eastern Pequot Powwow. Finally, the existence of the contemporary Eastern Pequot community is confirmed by the "Mohegan Model," which quantifies certain central characteristics of community, including an extended discussion of the Eastern Pequot Social Core Area. This model was conceived of and employed by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research in the Mohegan final determination.

Criterion (c) describes, in a historical context, the exercise of political authority in the Eastern Pequot Tribe. Presented first is a survey of tribal political activity from 1683 to 1883, including a summary of petitions brought by the tribe before colonial and state authorities and an account of the activities of the tribe's overseers. Evidence for tribal political activity from 1883 to 1973 consists of a discussion of tribal leaders and their achievements on behalf of the Eastern Pequots. This is followed by a history of factional politics and their impact on the Eastern Pequot Tribe over the past twenty-five years, which describes in detail the defection from the tribe of the "LeGault faction" in the early 1970s. The last section of criterion (c) deals with the contemporary tribal government and its conduct of tribal business since 1976.

The Eastern Pequot Tribe's bylaws and constitution are presented in criterion (d).



Criterion (e) establishes that all of the current membership of the Eastern Pequot Tribe is traceable to the 1870, 1900, or 1910 federal censuses, where the tribe and its membership are identified as, and historically linked to: (1) the "Indians in North Stonington" (1870 federal census); (2) the "Indian Population" of "North Stonington Town" (1900 federal census); and (3) on the 1910 special federal census of the Indian population of the United States, as "Pequot" Indians of the "Indian reservation" in North Stonington town. Moreover, criterion (e) demonstrates that there has been continuous colonial and state recognition of the Eastern Pequot Tribe from 1683 to the present, and that for over 300 years, the Eastern Pequot Tribe has stood in a government-to-government relationship with the colony and state of Connecticut. Finally, the Eastern Pequot Tribe's official membership list and the genealogies of tribal members are included, both required under criterion (e).

Presented last are statements affirming that the Eastern Pequot Tribe meets criteria (f) and (g).

In sum, the evidence presented here makes a strong case that the Eastern Pequot people represent a distinct, Indian community with direct connections to their seventeenth-century past.



## Criterion (a)

*The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. Evidence that the group's character as an Indian entity has from time to time been denied shall not be considered to be conclusive evidence that this criterion has not been met. Evidence to be relied upon in determining a group's Indian identity may include one or a combination of the following, as well as other evidence of identification by other than the petitioner itself or its members.*

- (1) Identification as an Indian entity by Federal authorities.*
- (2) Relationships with State governments based on identification of the group as Indian.*
- (3) Dealings with a county, parish, or other local government in a relationship based on the group's Indian identity.*
- (4) Identification as an Indian entity by anthropologists, historians, and/or other scholars.*
- (5) Identification as an Indian entity in newspapers and books.*
- (6) Identification as an Indian entity in relationships with Indian tribes or with national, regional, or state Indian organizations.*

\* \* \*

### Summary

- The Eastern Pequots have been recognized as an Indian entity throughout their history. They fully meet the evidence standards for Criterion (a) nos. 1-6 and demonstrate the continuity of the Eastern Pequot tribe since 1900.
- Criterion (a) 1: The identification of the Eastern Pequots as an Indian entity by the Federal government is demonstrated in a variety of sources, including the U.S. Census records for 1900 and 1910, and the 1976 report on Terminated and Nonfederally Recognized Tribes (American Indian Policy Review Commission). These reports are unequivocal evidence of Federal recognition of the Eastern Pequot community since 1900.
- Criterion (a) 2: Continuous relations between the Eastern Pequots and the government of the State of Connecticut are also amply documented by numerous official records and accounts, especially the Overseer's reports, and later, the records of the State Park and Forest Commission and the State Welfare Department.

- Criterion (a) 3: Recognition of the Eastern Pequot community by local authorities is documented in statements by local residents and officials (e.g. Williams, J.R. 1937).
- Criterion a (4) Identification as an Indian entity by anthropologists, historians, and/or other scholars.

In this section we identify sources by professional anthropologists and linguists that refer specifically to the Pequot, and to the Eastern (or Stonington, Paucatuck, or Lantern Hill) Pequot in particular. Since linguistic and anthropological studies of Native people appear mainly toward the latter half of the nineteenth century, the sources noted here reflect the time period from the latter nineteenth century to the present. Clearly scholars have used the Pequot name in referring to the Lantern Hill or Eastern Pequot community for a very long time. Numerous historical sources also identify the Pequot, beginning with the primary sources on the Pequot War period and its aftermath, and including local antiquarian historians such as William De Loss Love (who wrote about Samson Occom and the Brothertown movement) and John DeForest (who wrote the monumental *History of the Indians of Connecticut*). The sources that follow represent the most authoritative accounts written over the last 140 or so years. They show that the Pequot and Eastern Pequot names have been continuously recognized by outsiders, in this case professional scholars, throughout the historic period.

- 1862 Lewis Henry Morgan, one of the founding figures of contemporary anthropology, met a Narragansett woman with two Pequot children in her charge on a steamboat in the Missouri River. They were going to Kansas where they then lived. She told Morgan that the Pequot and Narragansett languages were extinct as far as she knew, and that descent among both groups was in the female line. Page 135 in *The Indian Journals*. 1859-62.
- 1870 On page 222 of his monumental *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Lewis Henry Morgan attested that the Mohegan and Pequot were closely allied in blood, language, and kinship terminology.
- 1877 Lewis Henry Morgan, in his *Ancient Society* (page 173-74), speculated that the Pequot, like the Mohegan, were organized into three exogamous matrilineal phratries known as the wolf, turtle, and turkey, that in turn were sub-divided into clans.
- 1917 Truman Michelson, in a brief essay, discusses the linguistic affinity of Mohegan-Pequot with other neighboring languages (*Notes on Algonquian Languages*, pp. 50-57)
- 1917 Frank Speck, *Pequot Indian Remnants*. *The Southern Workman* Pp. 100-103. Describes a visit by Speck with Leonard Ned, a Pequot man of over eighty years who was living on the Lantern Hill/Stonington reservation.
- 1928 The anthropologist James Mooney estimated the original Pequot population to have been about 2,200, and the population in 1907 to have been about 25 persons of mixed ancestry (Page 4 of his monograph on *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico*).

- 1947 Eva Butler, Some Early Indian Basketmakers of Southern New England. In Frank Speck, ed. Eastern Algonkian Block-Stamp Decoration. New Jersey State Museum Pp. 35-54. On page 41, Butler writes of the Pequot-Nehantic who live on the Lantern Hill reservation, and describes Tamer Brushell and her daughter Lina Sebastian as well-known local basketmakers with distinctive manufacturing and decorating styles.
- 1952 John Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145. Pp. 31-33. A definitive statement of North American groups: the Pequots "settled in two villages near Mystic River, where some of their descendants still live" (Swanton 1952: 32).
- 1978 Ives Goddard, in Volume 15 of the Bruce Trigger edited Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast, classes the dialects of Connecticut east of the Connecticut River together as Mohegan-Pequot, but also notes that linguistic differences may have existed between the Eastern Pequot of Stonington and the Western Pequot of Groton (page 72).
- 1978 Bert Salwen, also in Volume 15 of the Handbook of North American Indians (Bruce Trigger, ed.) gives a succinct account of early seventeenth-century Pequot-Mohegan history (pages 172-73) and a detailed synonymy of the Pequot tribal name (page 175).
- 1978 Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard provide a brief history of the Mashantucket Pequots and of the Stonington or Lantern Hill Pequots in their comprehensive chapter on the "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Late Period" in Trigger, ed. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15 (pages 182-83, 186).
- 1987 Ann McMullen, an authority on Southern New England basketry, writes in her essay, "Looking for People in Woodsplint Basketry Decoration" (Pp 102-123 in Ann McMullen and Russell Handsman, eds. A Key into the Language of Woodsplint Baskets, Washington Connecticut: American Indian Archaeological Institute) that the Pequot of the Lantern Hill reservation made basketry in their own distinctive way as late as the nineteenth century: "Pequot basket makers on both the Paucatuck and Mashantucket reservations appear to have maintained particular design types and color preferences in order to enforce separations between the two groups. Given seventeenth-century attempts to exterminate the Pequot—by destroying their identity through forced incorporation with the Mohegan, Narragansett, and Niantic...it is to be expected that the Pequot would try to set themselves apart from those groups. These separations appear to have carried into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" Pages 110-111.
- 1990 William Simmons and other contributors to the Laurence Hauptman and James Wherry volume referred to the Eastern Pequot as the Stonington, Lantern Hill, or Long Pond Pequots. See "The Mystic Voice: Pequot Folkloe from the Seventeenth Century to the Present". by Simmons in the book edited by Laurence Hauptman and James Wherry.

- 1995 In his monumental and comprehensive overview of European interaction with tribes in the Northeast, Robert Grumet reviews the seventeenth and eighteenth century histories of the two pequot reservations, Lantern Hill and Mashantucket (Grumet, pages 139-152).
- 1996 Jack Campisi wrote in his definitive entry on "Pequot" (Page 476 in Frederick Hoxie, ed. Encyclopedia of North American Indians) that following the resettlement after the Pequot War, that the subsequent history of the Pequot is the history of the Western or Mashantucket and Eastern or Paucatuck tribes.

Although the Pequot language is generally classified as part of the group of dialects east of the Connecticut River known as Mohegan-Pequot (one of the Eastern Algonquian languages), local differences are believed to have existed between groups. There is evidence, for example, of "differences between the Pequot of Stonington and that of Groton" (Goddard 1978: 72). Mohegan-Pequot ceased to be a spoken language by the early twentieth century, but specific words including but not confined to place-names, continued well into the late twentieth century.

# EASTERN PEQUOT

## LILLIAN SEBASTIAN DANCING TIPTOES

Lillian Sebastian was born in Mystic, Conn. on Jan. 13, 1906, the daughter of Betty and Arthur Sebastian Sr., and the oldest of 10 brothers and sisters. Now 85 years old, she is one of the elders of the Eastern Pequot tribe living on the Lantern Hill Reservation in North Stonington, Conn.

Lillian is an outstanding tribal elder who has played an important role in keeping the tribal family together. She participates in all tribal meetings and Pow Wows, which often cause her to remember the many tribal gatherings she attended as a child at different aunts, uncles, and neighbors homes. These such as, Aunt Louise (Emeline Sebastian), Harry and Fay Sebastian, the Carpenters, Alden and Josephine Wilson, and Frank Sebastian Sr. around their tables for many tribal celebrations.

At home in Mystic, Conn. she says, "You got to keep moving," and with her thriving catering business she does just that. Known to all as Aunt Lil, her inspiring personality has brought smiles and joy to all who meet her.

"Tua" (far grandmothers), as she is fondly referred to by the other elders, has lived in a cottage on Long Pond since the 1930's. And it is on Long Pond that she is lovingly surrounded by her sister and brother-in-law, Isabelle and Bill Jordan, and her brothers Arthur and Howard.

May the Great Spirit keep you always. Best wishes to her from the tribe and the tribal council.

"YAH WETT" "COWANAMUSH"

Accitke - Ripening Moon When They Hill The Corn



Figure 1. Lillian Sebastian, the oldest Eastern Pequot tribal member, born in 1906.

- Criterion (a) 5: Only a sample of the large number of newspaper and magazine articles concerning the Eastern Pequots are included in the following list of sources. These articles provide substantial evidence for the widespread recognition of the Eastern Pequots as an Indian entity since 1900 (see Figure 1).
- Criterion (a) 6: Recognition of the eastern Pequots by other Indian communities and organizations is also well-documented in newspaper articles and accounts, in the records of the Council of New England Indians, and records relating to attendance at regional Indian-sponsored events (see Figure 2).



*Figure 2. Roy Sebastian, Jr., Chief Hockeo, Eastern Pequot Powwow, 1989.*

The following is a compilation of documentary sources which demonstrate that the Eastern Pequot community successfully satisfied the evidence for criterion (a).

PLEASE NOTE: Unless noted otherwise, photocopies of the documents listed below are in the file marked, "Criterion (a): Documents."

1900 Twelfth Census of the United States - Indian Population.

Richard Anson Wheeler. *History of the Town of Stonington . . .* New London.

- 1910 Thirteenth Census of the United States - Indian Population.
- 1911 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 22, 1911 to June 14, 1912.
- NOTE WELL:* Please refer to the file, "Overseer Reports," for photocopies of this and all of the remaining citations to "Annual Account [Overseer report]" found in criterion (a) and elsewhere in the petition.
- 1912 Agreement made between Charles L. Stewart, Overseer of the Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians, and Paul Massey. January 17, 1912.
- Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 14, 1912 to June 13, 1913.
- 1913 "Aged Pequot Indian Minister Dead." Newspaper unknown.
- Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 13, 1913 to June 12, 1914.
- 1914 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 12, 1914 to June 11, 1915.
- 1915 "Tamer Sebastian." Newspaper unknown.
- Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 11, 1915 to June 10, 1916.
- 1916 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 10, 1916 to June 15, 1917.
- 1917 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 15, 1917 to June 13, 1918.
- 1918 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 13, 1918 to June 13, 1919.
- 1919 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 15, 1919 to June 11, 1920.
- 1920 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 11, 1920 to June 11, 1921.
- 1921 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 11, 1921 to June 9, 1922.
- 1922 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 9, 1922 to June 8, 1923.
- 1923 "Observed Silver Wedding Day On The Pequot Indian Reservation." Newspaper unknown.
- 1924 "Last of Pequot Tribe of Indians Live on Lantern Hill Reservation." *New London Evening Day*. August 5.



- 1928 Final Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June 25, 1928 to June 14, 1929.
- 1930 W. E. Britton. *State Geological and Natural History Survey*. Bulletin No. 49. State of Connecticut, Public Document No. 47. Hartford.
- Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. June.
- 1931 Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. May.
- "Annual Report Of Overseer For 2 Pequot Indian Tribes Approved." *Norwich Bulletin*. June 28.
- "70 Members Now in Two Pequot Indian Tribes." *New London Day*. June 30.
- "Indians Organize At North Stonington." *Norwich Record*. August 24.
- "Federation Of Indians Formed." *New London Day*. August 26.
- 1932 Overseer Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. May 28.
- 1933 Overseer Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. May 25.
- In re Ledyard Tribe of Pequot Indians[,] Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. Superior Court. New London County. June 9.
- "Judge Brown Enters Order Governing Pequot Indians." *Norwich Bulletin*. June 18.
- "Judge Allyn L. Brown Enters Five Orders Governing Two Tribes of Pequot Indians." *Norwich Record*. n.d.
- "Poor But Proud Descendants of Ancient Pequot Warriors Derive Meager Bounty From Barren Acres In Ledyard and North Stonington." *Hartford Courant*. July 9.
- "American Indian Federation Powwow at North Stonington Perpetuates Tribal Traditions." *New London Day*. September 5.
- 1934 Overseer Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. May 22.
- "Renamed Overseer Of Pequot Indians." *New London Day*. 5 June.
- Connecticut State Park and Forest Commission. Meeting No. 265. November 14.
- 1935 "Pequot" ["Relocation, History, Government, Language, Etc. of the Pequot Indians"]. Indian Office Files. [Bureau of Indian Affairs] 676 - 1935, File No. 150. January 4.
- "Pequots Seek to Name Overseer." *New London Day*. 7 March.

- Overseer Annual Account [Overseer report]. Eastern Tribe of Pequot Indians. May 29.
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## Criterion (b)

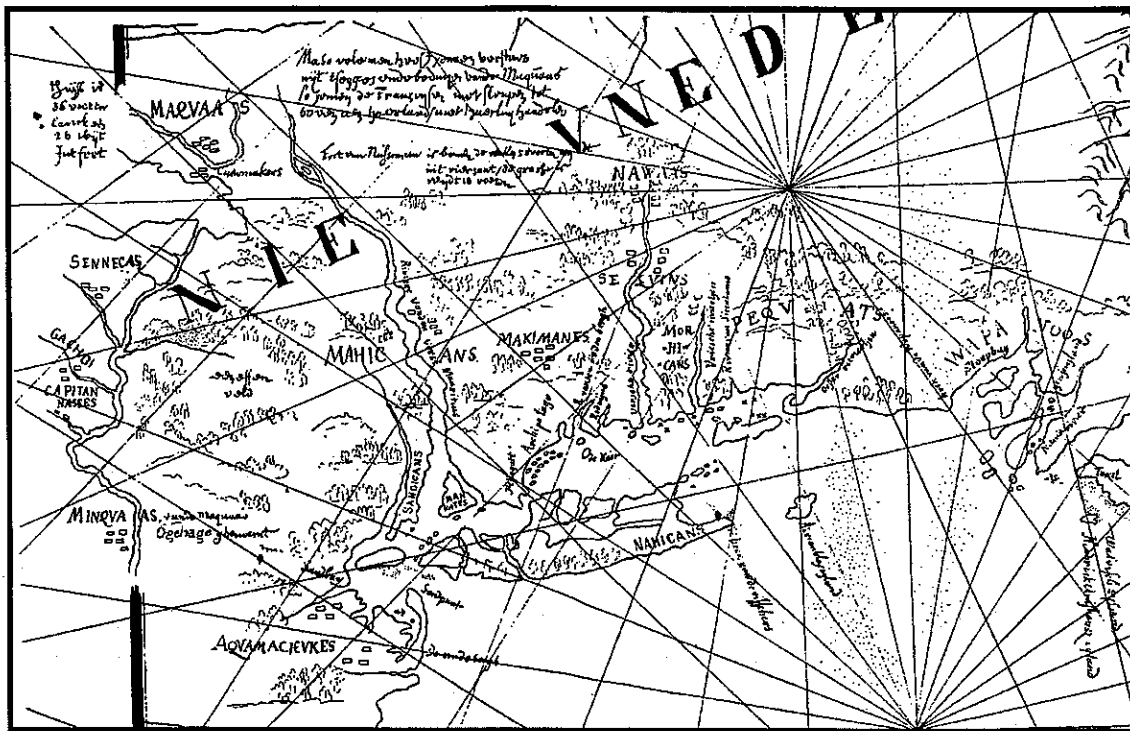
*A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.*

\* \* \*

### Summary

- Archaeological evidence demonstrates long-term prehistoric use of the core area by Pequot peoples.
- Seventeenth century conflicts with English colonists led to the separation of the Pequots into two groups (Western and Eastern), but not to their destruction.
- People of the Eastern Pequot community resettled in their traditional homeland, establishing a residential "core" within a ten-mile radius of the Lantern Hill reservation.
- Eastern Pequots developed a distinctive cultural and community identity as they adapted to life in the post-contact period.
- The essential characteristics of the Eastern Pequot community are evident in their historic settlement and subsistence practices, their religious history, and their traditional kinship patterns and marriage customs. These characteristics have allowed them to survive while remaining distinctly Indian. This distinctive Eastern Pequot community has existed from historical times to the present.
- These same factors continue to play a role in the distinctive Eastern Pequot community of the twentieth century
- Overseer's reports from historic times to the recent past document the continued recognition and functioning of the Eastern Pequot community.
- Tribal Genealogies document lines of descent and kinship ties among the Eastern Pequots that extend back at least from the early nineteenth century to the present.
- The Eastern Pequot community satisfies the same criteria of community residence within a "social core" area as were recently applied to their near neighbors, the Mohegans.

The Pequot and their immediate neighbors appear from archaeological evidence to be long-term inhabitants of the area where they lived at the time of first contact with Europeans (Salwen 1969: 81-88). Writing of the cultural continuities from the prehistoric to historic periods in this region, Kevin McBride noted that the "eastern Long Island Sound area includes several Native American communities that have occupied the same locales since at least the late prehistoric period" (McBride 1994a: 7). McBride observed that a significant amount of "spatial and temporal continuity can be demonstrated for such groups as the Narragansetts, Mohegans, Gay Head



Map 2. Pequot territories circa 1614 (after Speck 1928).

Wampanoags, Shinnecoaks, and Mashantucket and Pawcatuck Pequots” (ibid.). Thus, the Pequot who encountered the earliest European explorers and traders had long prehistoric roots in their traditional area from West Niantic, near New London, northward between the Connecticut and Thames rivers to approximately the headwaters of the Thames, then eastward to the approximate border between Rhode Island and Connecticut, then south to the coast. By historic time they also held political influence over eastern Long Island (Dincauze 1990: 19-32; Starna 1990: 33-34). A series of seventeenth and eighteenth century documents pertaining to the legal history of lands east of the Pawcatuck River indicate that what is now Westerly was also part of the Eastern Pequot domain (Potter 1835: 179, 263, 267) (see Map 2).

Their late prehistoric mixed hunting and gathering and horticultural village economy supported a total pre-European population (including Mohegan) estimated to have been about 13,300-16,000 persons (Bragdon 1996: 25; Snow 1980: 34,39). McBride observed that during the early historic period, from 1600 to 1650, “changes in material culture, settlement patterns, social and political structure, and mortuary practices can be demonstrated throughout the Northeast” (McBride 1994a: 12). Such changes, characterized by the rise of fortified and unfortified sedentary villages, were based upon an economy that combined intensive maize cultivation and shellfishing for *venus mercenaria* to be used for or the production of wampum needed for the fur trade with Dutch and English merchants (McBride 1994b: 31-52).

The post-contact fur trade resulted in concentrations of political power and increasingly hierarchical relationships throughout the Southern New England region. Paramount hereditary leaders

(sachems) tended to emerge among the Pequot, Narragansett, Niantic, and Wampanoag or Pokanoket, to whom the local level sachems paid tribute and looked for leadership. Well-known seventeenth-century sachems such as Woipequand (Pequot), Canonicus (Narragansett), Ninigret (Niantic), and Massasoit (Wampanoag) were such paramount leaders whose authority extended over numerous local sachems including in some cases the sachems of other tribal/linguistic groups. In a number of recorded cases, highly-ranked sachems or their female siblings married highly-ranked individuals both within and outside of the boundaries of their extended sachemdoms. In such cases, the woman tended to reside in the village of the husband, and the children would identify with the tribal group of the father.

The first recorded account of contact with Pequot speaking people was that of Adriaen Block in 1614, who observed that "The people who dwell on this river [the Mystic], according to the statements of our people, are called Pequatoos, (Pequods) and are the enemies of the Wapanoos" [Wampanoag] (de Laet [1625] 1841: 295). Following Block's voyage, the Pequot became increasingly involved in intensive fur trade relations with the Dutch New Netherland Company. By 1622 the Pequot had achieved a kind of privileged trading partner/middleman status with the New Netherland Company that vastly increased their influence over neighboring groups on their periphery and in turn their access to European goods (Salisbury 1982: 149-150). By 1632 the Pequot and Narragansett had come to the point of open hostility as a consequence of economic competition and political expansion from both sides. In 1633 an outbreak of smallpox spread through southern New England wiping out several thousand native inhabitants including a number of Pequots. English settled Wethersfield in 1634 and Fort Saybrook the following year. By 1636 English colonists began to settle in substantial numbers in the Connecticut River valley. Realizing that they were on the edge of subjugation by increasing English settlement, the Pequot may have attempted to enlist their adversaries, the Narragansett, in a broad uprising against the English. Now allied with the English of the new settlement at Providence, the Narragansett had little to gain by assisting their threatened enemies.

Because of a series of local hostilities that occurred shortly after the onset of English settlement in Connecticut, the English of that colony were wary of the Pequots. With Massachusetts, the Connecticut English determined to strike a preemptive blow to remove all possible danger to their presence in that newly colonized region. The colonial historian Douglas Edward Leach succinctly characterized the very-well known event that followed—the destruction of the palisaded Pequot village at Mystic on May 26, 1637, where between 300 and 700 of its residents were killed:

Massachusetts and Connecticut decided that there there could be no sure peace in New England until the tribes were taught an unforgettable lesson—the lesson of how disastrous it was for any tribe to bully or resist either the English or other Indians in alliance with the English. Accordingly, an armed force was raised. Mohegan and Narragansett warriors were induced to join the expedition, and soon the unsuspecting Pequots in one principal village found themselves surrounded. The colonial force set fire to the village and then, with the terrible fervor of crusaders, struck down every Indian—man, woman, or child—who ran out (Leach 1988: 133).

Captain John Mason, who was the chief commander of the Connecticut forces in this assault, wrote a detailed account of his observations in which he described the final destruction of the village and its inhabitants:

The fire was kindled on the north east side to windward; which did swiftly over run the fort, to the extream amazement of the enemy, and great rejoycing of our selves. Some of them climbing to the top of the palizado; others of them running into the very flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their arrows; and we repayed them with our small shot: others of the stoutest issued forth, as we did guess to the number of forty, who perished by the sword (Mason 1736: 9).

Those Pequots who escaped or were not present at the Mystic fight skirmished and fled in the next several months but most were caught and either executed or assigned to Connecticut or Massachusetts Bay colonists or to their Mohegan and Narragansett allies, or sold into slavery to the West Indies or Bermuda (Boissevain 1981; Salisbury 1982: 222). Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay wrote on August 5, 1637, of the widespread and deliberate efforts following the Mystic fight to eliminate Pequot survivors:

Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came, with Mr. Wilson, from Connecticut by Providence; and, the same day, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pincheon, and about twelve more, came the ordinary way by land, and brought with them a part of the skin and lock of hair of Sasacus and his brother and five other Pequod sachems, who being fled to the Mohawks for shelter, with their wampom, being to the value of five hundred pounds, were by them surprised and slain, with twenty of their best men. Mononottoh was also taken, but escaped wounded. They brought news also of divers other Pequods, which had been slain by other Indians, and their heads brought to the English; so that now there had been slain and taken between eight and nine hundred (Winthrop 1825 I: 235).

By the Treaty of Hartford in 1638, the Pequot were dissolved as a named political entity and forbidden to return to their former territories. Mason asked the Pequot leaders at Hartford how many still lived, to which they answered about one hundred and eighty to two hundred men, "besides squawes and paposes" (Potter 1835: 177). These survivors were then divided between the Mohegan, who took eighty, the Narragansett who took eighty, and the Niantic, who took twenty. They were bound in covenant by the Hartford treaty that "none should inhabit their native country, nor should any of them be called Pequots any more, but Moheags and Narragansetts for ever" (Mason 1736: 18). No better figure exists for the number of Pequot who were killed in or who survived the war and its aftermath. Soon, however, Pequot survivors attempted to return to their homelands despite the terms of the Hartford Treaty. Mason notes that in 1639, a large number went to Pawcatuck, "a place in Pequot country, contrary to their late covenant and agreement with the English" (ibid. 18). In his account, Mason indicates that at least some of these were ones who had been assigned to the Narragansetts and Niantics, but that the entire fighting force included about three hundred Pequots and allies who eventually fled because of their fear that the English were spirits. Mason's English soldiers and his Indian auxiliaries burned the village that had been constructed in defiance of the Treaty of Hartford and took large amounts of corn that the Pequots had recently harvested, as well as their canoes and household items such as kettles, mats, and trays. This encounter suggests that a larger number of Pequots may have survived in the area than the one hundred and eighty to two hundred officially recorded. Wequashcook, or Herman Garret, an Eastern Pequot who was closely allied with the Narragansett, received permission from Mason to settle a small community in 1648 on the west side of the Pawcatuck River near its mouth (LaFantasie 1988 I: 255).

## The Origin and Formation of the Eastern Pequot Community

By 1650 both of the Pequot groups, although severely impacted by the war and its aftermath, were fully autonomous. Nevertheless, in 1655 the colonies moved to reassert control over what they regarded as a defeated people, establishing four Indian towns under the leadership of two Pequot "governors" (Campisi 1990:118). In doing so, the Commissioners of the United Colonies extended their recognition to the two Pequot groups, formalized a political relationship with the tribes, and appointed overseers to assist their headmen.

Cassacinamon, the headman of what would become the Western or Mashantucket Pequots, controlled the towns of Nameag [New London] and Nawpauge. Caushawashett, who was also known as Wequash Cook and Harmon Garrett, controlled Pawcatuck [Pauquatuck] and Weepauge (DeForest 1851:226-227, 246-248; Campisi 1990:118). It is from these latter two Indian towns that the present-day Eastern Pequot Tribe is derived.

The Eastern and Western Pequot tribes, however, were settled on lands claimed by English colonists and whose titles were clouded. To prevent further conflict between native and non-natives in the area, the colony confirmed a grant of 2,000 acres of land in the town of Ledyard to the Western Pequots in 1667. In 1661 the Eastern Pequots had been driven across the Pawcatuck River into the town of Stonington, Connecticut. Widely recognized in the late seventeenth century as having claim to substantial territories in the region, the Eastern Pequots looked to their leaders to secure suitable fishing locations as well as hunting territories and farm lands for their use (e.g. CR Vol. VI pp. 485-6; 488, 574-576). Various negotiations on behalf of the Eastern Pequots between Wequash Cook, his brother of the same name, and his son Cattapezit and colonial authorities were recorded in the Colonial Records of Connecticut and Massachusetts (e.g. CR Vol. 2. Pp. 56-7; Indian Papers Vol. I, pp. 73-4), including the granting of title to lands at Pochaug within the bounds of Stonington, as well as to other lands at a place called Causatick (Records of Massachusetts, Vol. IV pp. 53, 113, 119, 229). The Eastern Pequots were without a permanent home however, until 1683, when Connecticut purchased from Isaac Wheeler a small and rocky 280 acre tract of land for the tribe near Long Pond and Lantern Hill, the Eastern Pequot tribe's present reservation (Campisi 1990:118-119; DeForest 1851:262-263; Stonington Land Records, Vol. 2, p. 20).

The Pequot Indians had thus been recast into two separate tribes whose existence was fully recognized by the colony of Connecticut and also by the surrounding Indian tribes. As Campisi (1990:119) has observed, the Pequots:

had gone from a collection of villages, each with their own political organization, through a state when they were subjected to the authority of other Indian tribes, to two semiautonomous tribes with relatively strong central authority, yet dependent upon the Connecticut Colony for advice and protection.

By the turn of the eighteenth century there were four distinct, semiautonomous Indian tribes established in southeastern Connecticut and western Rhode Island:

1. The Mohegan tribe resided primarily on a tract of land between Norwich and New London. Uncas, the tribe's headman, died in 1684, and was replaced by Owaneco.

- The Mohegan Indian Tribe was acknowledged as an Indian tribe by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs on 14 May 1994.
2. The Narragansett tribe of the early eighteenth century was created by the merging of the Narragansett and Eastern Niantic survivors of King Philip's War (1675-1676). In 1709 this combined population, consisting largely of Niantics, located itself at Charlestown and assumed the name "Narragansett." They were led by Ninigret II (Simmons 1978:195).
    - The Narragansett Indian Tribe was acknowledged as an Indian tribe by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs on 11 April 1983.
  3. The Western Pequots were on lands at Mashantucket and Noank. Cassicinamon died in 1692. Scattup became "governor" in 1694 (Campisi 1990:119).
    - The Mashantucket Pequot Tribe was legislatively recognized on 18 October 1983.
  4. The Eastern Pequots were granted a 280 acre reservation in the town of Stonington in 1683. Their headman at the time was Momoho (Hurd 1882:32).
    - The Eastern Pequots remain a State Recognized Tribe

## **Aspects of Eastern Pequot Community Life in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries**

Although English colonists had once sought the total annihilation of this "stately, warlike people," (Wood 1634), in fact, both the Western and Eastern Pequot communities survived the traumatic events of the first half of the seventeenth century with remarkable resilience. This is due in part to their continued residence within their traditional territories, the flexibility of their leadership, the continuities in many aspects of their material culture and folk traditions, and their participation within the broader network of native social relations that came to characterize southern New England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Within a colonial and later, state and national jurisdictional structure largely defined by non-Indians, the native people of Southern New England including the Pequots, Mohegans, Niantics, and Narragansetts found new ways to express and maintain themselves as distinct communities of Indian origin and cultural orientation. It was this constellation of factors that stabilized drastically reduced native populations, prevented further outmigration, and effectively protected the Eastern Pequot people from undue outside influence in the difficult years that followed their confinement to the Stonington reservation and its environs. It is these factors, as well, that help to define the eastern Pequot community to the present day.

### ***The Pequot Homeland and the Social Core Area***

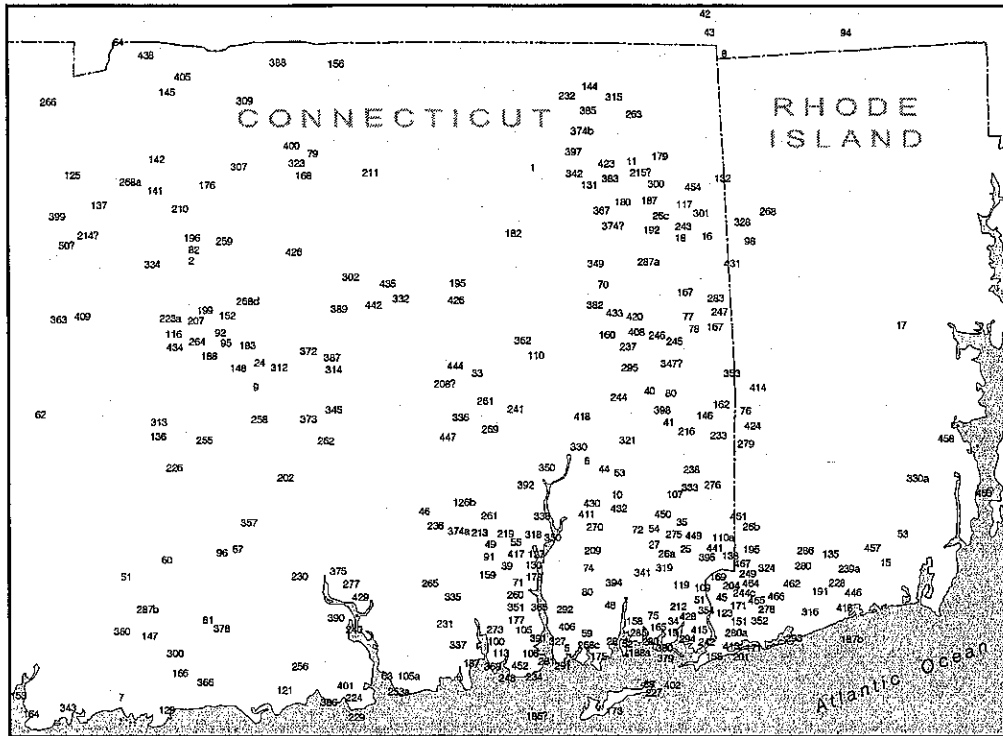
Although seventeenth century writers disagree on the extent of Pequot authority prior to the war of 1636/1637, it appears that, in addition to their principal territories which extended to the headwa-

ters of the Thames, the Pequots also exerted influence over the peoples of eastern Long Island, the Quinapeake (Quiripi) sachems, the sachems of the Connecticut river, and over the Nipmuck as far as Quinabaag (near Dudley, Massachusetts) (Bragdon 1996:25).

Linguistic information in the form of native place names suggests clusterings of settlement in the southerly reaches of the Thames and Pawcatuck rivers, with other groupings extending north to the Pauchaug river (see Map 3). Nineteenth century linguist James Hammond Trumbull notes that the distribution of place names in southern New England also speaks to the presence, within this limited geographic area, of several distinctive languages (Trumbull 1870:45).

Some names that appear to be Pequot in origin include:

- ❖ Ashowughcummocke: 'half-way place, enclosed place' Modern Name: Six-Penny Island (off Mason's island).
- ❖ Ayosupsuck: 'hemp place' (Wyassup Pond, North Stonington).
- ❖ Chippachaug, Chippichuock 'Mason's Island.
- ❖ Coassattuck, cowissattuck (Cosad'uck) 'pine wood or pine trees.'
- ❖ Cochikuack, Cokichiwake, Caukitchewonk 'wild or violent stream.'
- ❖ Cowassit, Cowissick: 'place of small pine trees.'
- ❖ Cuppacommuck 'haven or hiding place.'
- ❖ Gungywamps, Gungewaunks; 'high place.'
- ❖ Ketumpscut - east end of Fishers Island 'at the great rock'.
- ❖ Mamacock, Mamaquack, Mamacokk -the neck of land in New London where Fort Trumbull is located 'great hook.'
- ❖ Mahmansuck, Maummansuck. Trumbull analyzed this as 'brook connecting two ponds. '(Billings pond). However, he also cites a 1726 survey of North Stonington where it is translated as 'a path between two ponds' (1881:20) If this is the meaning than the word should be analyzed as 'may' (path) +suck (outlet of pond, brook).
- ❖ Manunkateset, Manunkatesuck 'fertilizer brook' (place where menhaden used for fertilizer were caught).
- ❖ Massachaug, Muschaug, Minnebaug, Muzquetaug 'from 'muxquataug' or 'muskechoge' (rushes)
- ❖ Massapaug, Mashipaug 'large pond or standing water.'
- ❖ Massaucunock 'place of fish-hawks.'
- ❖ Massawamasog 'a great ledge.'
- ❖ Mashamoquet, Massamugget, Mashamugget, Mashamugket, etc. 'great fishing place.'
- ❖ Menunketuck, Manuncatuck, etc. from 'nunnoquott or munnawhat' (menhaden) +uck (place).



Map 3. Distribution of Native place names in Connecticut and Rhode Island.

- ❖ Mi-onkh-tuk 'meeting place of tidal rivers.'
- ❖ Misquamucuck 'salmon taking place.'
- ❖ Mistick 'great tidal river.'
- ❖ Mukquata, Muxquat etc. 'rushes place.'
- ❖ Naiwaonk (Noank), Naiwayonk etc. 'point.'
- ❖ Ohomowauke 'owl place.'
- ❖ Oxopagsuck 'small pond outlet.'
- ❖ Pochaug, Pooachoage, etc. 'where they divide.'
- ❖ Poquannoc, Pequonnuc 'cleared land.'
- ❖ Quaganapoxet-shaking marsh at the salt pond.'
- ❖ Quiambog 'where fish are taken in nets.'
- ❖ Shawwunk 'place where two streams meet.'
- ❖ Shetucket, Shawtucket, also Showttucket, etc. 'land between two rivers.'
- ❖ Sneeksuck 'stone house brook.'
- ❖ Tawawwog (Nameaug) 'old or abandoned land.'



- ❖ Tomheganonomset, Higganompos 'quarry place.'
- ❖ Wamphassuc, Wamphasset etc. 'marshes.'
- ❖ Wecopesuck, Wicapeset 'small place at the end.'
- ❖ Wequapaugset, Wickerboxet pond.
- ❖ Wequatucket 'head of the tidal river.'
- ❖ Wishquodiniack, etc. 'walnut tree land.'
- ❖ Wongumbaug 'bent pond.'

These names, in addition to marking the extent of Pequot settlement, also testify to the ways in which Pequot people referred to and made use of their lands, as resource locations, in their fixed locations along trade and travel routes, and with reference to their historical associations. Many of these names are still in use today, and others, which appear in colonial records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, document the strength of associations between the Pequots and their territories, long after the Pequots' own use of these territories was curtailed. Remarkably, twentieth century Pequots continue to settle in a limited region which corresponds to the probable area of seventeenth century habitation. This region, henceforth called the "Social Core Area," has been continuously occupied by the Eastern Pequots.



*Figure 3. Franklin Williams house, Lantern Hill Reservation, 1937.*

Evidence for long-term occupation of the core area by Eastern Pequots comes in the form of historic cemeteries, and the archaeological remains of forts, and clusters of homesteads, most of which have disappeared. Richard Wheeler's 1870 description of the Lantern Hill reservation noted for example, that there were then standing only "two small houses," (23) (see Figure 3). Although a systematic survey of the Eastern Pequot reservation and its environs has not yet been undertaken, scattered archaeological or historic remains which are likely to have been associated with Eastern Pequot settlement include the following:

1. Early historic period agricultural fields and a fishing station/village located on the western side of the Pawcatuck river (McBride 1994 fig. 2.4, see also Davis 1986 pp. 80ff.)
2. Historic burial (?) and scattered points at Bluff point (Butler, E. "The Graves of the Pequots" n.d.)
3. According to Eva Butler "there are two Indians cemeteries on the eastern or Stonington Reservation... the oldest one is on the top of Lantern Hill. It lies high above the reservation and from it may be seen the surrounding hills and valleys, the Sound, Fisher's Island, and even Long Island on a clear day" (ibid.)

This cemetery is said to contain the remains of the "old chief," possibly the under the marker known as "triangle rock." (ibid.)

The second early graveyard is located on the far side of Long Pond. According to Mrs. Butler, "there are here many circles about three feet in diameter covered with rubble stones about the size of a man's two fists. It is said that they were the "wolf stones" of the Indians....it is not unlikely that the Indian graves were covered with stones to protect the body from the ravaging beasts." (ibid.).

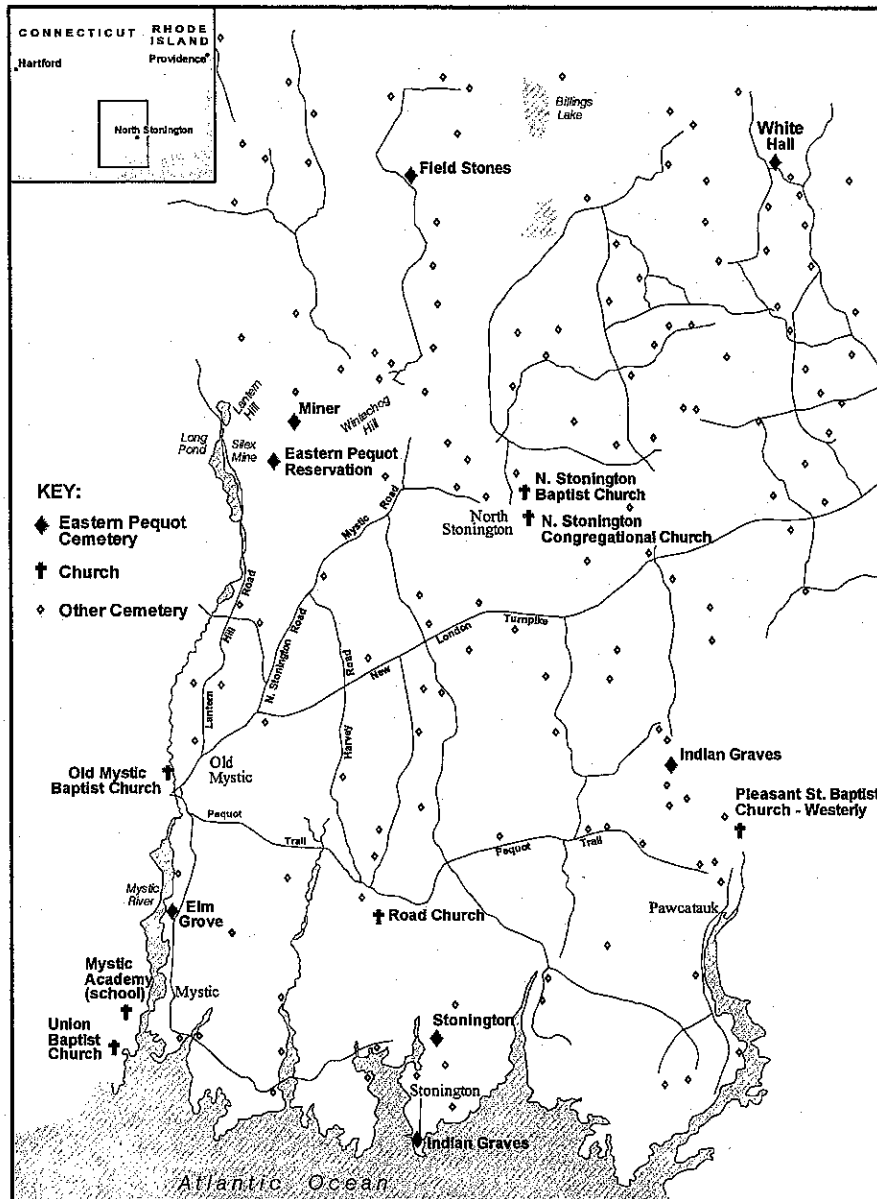
4. The so-called "Long Pond cemetery" excavated under the direction of Dr. Kevin McBride in 1990, although tentatively identified by McBride as associated with the Councilor's Town community of Western Pequots, is thought by many members of the Eastern Pequot community to be of Eastern Pequot affiliation, given its location at the tip of the pond, near the old silex mine off Homestead Road. Elderly tribal members remembered that there were stepping stones leading from the Harris property on the Eastern reservation across the tip of the Pond, for access to this cemetery (Williams, J.R. 1935). According to McBride, the cemetery, which dates from 1660-1720, provides evidence for strong continuities in Pequot mortuary practices, including the orientation of graves, the position of the deceased within the graves (flexed and facing towards the southwest) and the type and distribution of grave goods. These goods included both imported English and European goods, as well as items of native manufacture. Among the most significant of the latter were beads and other ornaments of wampum, clearly of local manufacture. According to McBride, these late wampum forms at Long Pond suggest Pequot participation in an early eighteenth century regional native exchange system still centered around the items of sacred or ceremonial significance (McBride 1998).

5. Unsystematic excavations on the Davis Homestead in Lower Pawcatuck uncovered several "hollows" in the ground ranging from three to seven feet in diameter. An observer of these excavations considered that some of these might be the remains of Indian "huts," (Davis 1986:81-82). Anthropologist Frank Speck was told of historic "jokwin" houses elsewhere in this region (1904:187). These houses, which were "a partly subterranean affair.... were shored up with boards. The portion above ground consisted of logs, and the roof was of the same material. Sods, brush and other protective matter were thrown on top of the roof. A sloping entrance led to the door (ckwand) and a hole in the back of the roof over the fire allowed exit to smoke." Similar structures have been excavated on Gay Head (Chereau and McBride 1996), and are likely to have been typical of historic period Indian habitations on the eastern Pequot reservation as well.

The long-term occupation of the Pequot Social Core Area by Eastern Pequot people is further demonstrated by the distribution of historic Pequot cemeteries, grave markers, and churches. Map 4 illustrates the locations of many of these landmarks. Much Eastern Pequot folklore concerns these and similar landmarks, which appear to have taken on additional significance through time (See discussion of Eastern Pequot Folk Beliefs, below).

Ezra Stiles, who visited the eastern Pequot settlement in 1759, wrote a lengthy description of what he learned there:

Col. Williams of Stonington tells me that when a Boy [he k]new Mauommiyo [*sic*].. the successor of Sassacus King of the Pequots and that the old people told him, Mamio could raise 500 men in two hours. The Pequot territory extended from New London River to Paucatuck — all the Pequots were assembled within two pallisaded Forts, one on the east side of Mystic River within about 100(?) rods from Col. William's the other about two miles to the west of sd Mystic: the main body on the east side; these forts contained about 174 acre each & in both Col. Williams supposes were 3000 souls, when Capt. Mason conquered them May 26 1637. Quintacuk, a long crooked river-Nehantuck a River by a place where deer com down to feed- Mystuck, Myst is Iron, there is a bed of iron ore at the Head of Mystic River— Paucatuck a River with Falls, there is a spring on Mystyc about a mile from Col. Williams' strongly impregnated with iron, which makes it something bleuish, which proves cathartic; I went to it and got a phial of it- there was much Iron on round about it. Pequot signifies several points of land running off into the Sea with Hommucks adjoining. Nehantick is bounded west on Conecticut River, east by the rope (?) ferry, being the lower part of Lyme(?) Mohegan or Onecos Territory bounds on the Sea between Nihantic or rope Ferry & New London River & up said River to the northward between New London —ert Connecticut River. The Pequots country lay to the East of Onecos between New London River & Paucatuck extending North to Plainfield. N.B. The Indian Name for the swamp in Rode Island when the memorable Fight was originally was Wooscopaug... Mr. Wm. Mumford of Pt. Judith tells me that in the pond lying about 3 miles S.W. from Tower Hill there runs off a point or Neck of Land which the Indians called Narraganset & this probably gave the name to the Nanaganset Country, which in the estimation of the Natives, extended from Paucatuck River west to So. Kingston inclusive, if not beyond. Pawcatuck R. in Pequot Country when Mystic fort was taken Sausacus was at a fort 8 miles further (Stiles 1759).



Map 4. Historic cemeteries and churches in the Social Core Area.

Stiles' remarks indicate that memories of Pequot settlement, and of their distinctiveness from other Indian groups in the region in the mid-eighteenth century were still strong.

A remarkably persistent pattern of Eastern Pequot residence in the restricted region surrounding the reservation known as the Social Core Area is documented by data from a variety of historical sources. The communities of Old Mystic, Mystic, Groton, New London, Norwich, Stonington, and North Stonington were all included in this area (see Map 5). Tables 1, 2, and 3 summarize nineteenth century Eastern Pequot birth and death locations and residence patterns. These data show that 79% of the deceased members of the Eastern Pequot community and their parents and grandparents died within the Social Core Area between 1861 and the 1990's. 73% of

**Table 1.**  
**Places of Deaths per Obituaries and Death Records 1861-1990**

Location	Number	Location	Number
<i>Social Core Area</i>		<i>SW Rhode Island</i>	
North Stonington	7	Richmond	2
Mystic	17	Kingston	1
Stonington	9	Westerly	10
Groton	9	Charlestown	1
Norwich	10	Pawcatuck	1
New London	31	<b>Total deaths</b>	<b>15</b>
Ledyard	2		
Flanders	1	<i>Other</i>	
<b>Total deaths</b>	<b>86</b>	Hartford	4
		Providence	3
		Unknown	4

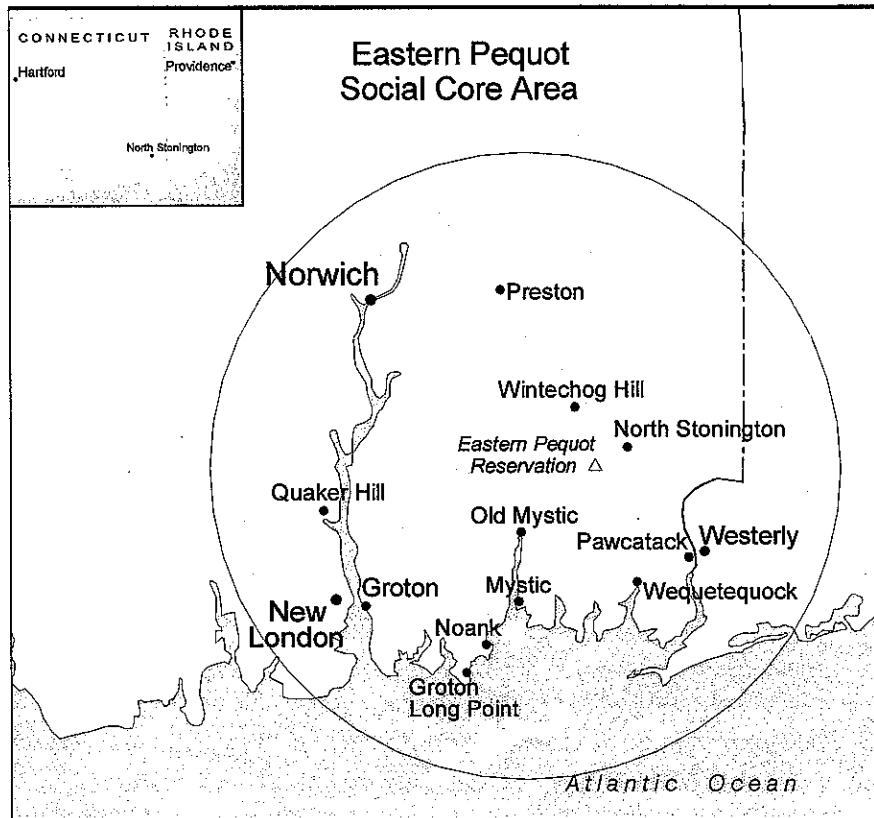
Note: Tables 1, 2, and 3 based on figures provided by Barbara Madison.

**Table 2.**  
**Birth Places per Obituaries and Death Records 1788-1982**

Location	Number	Location	Number
<i>Social Core Area</i>		<i>SW Rhode Island</i>	
Pequot Reservation	1	Westerly	5
Lantern Hill	1	Exeter	2
North Stonington	9	Charlestown	5
Stonington	9	Hopkinton	1
Mystic	24	<b>Total births</b>	<b>13</b>
Groton	17		
Norwich	6	<i>Other</i>	
New London	8	Rhode Island ?	1
Ledyard	5	Connecticut ?	4
<b>Total births</b>	<b>80</b>	Unknown	14

**Table 3.**  
**19<sup>th</sup> Century Eastern Pequot Residence Patterns**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Number of Families</b>
1800	Stonington	8
	N. Stonington	6
	New London	2
	Groton	2
	Bozrah	3
	Colchester	1
1810	Stonington	12
	North Stonington	10
	Norwich	5
1820	Stonington	4
	North Stonington	7
	Groton	1
1830	North Stonington	8
	Groton	2
1840	Stonington	7
	North Stonington	4
	Ledyard	9
	Groton	2
<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Number of People</b>
1850	North Stonington	53
	Stonington	36
	Stonington Borough	48
	Groton	14
1860	North Stonington	27
	Stonington	87
	Groton	24
1870	North Stonington	37
1880	Groton	10



Map 5. Eastern Pequot Social Core Area.

Eastern Pequot members were born within the area. The historic and present Eastern Pequot community should thus be understood as encompassing the entire Social Core Area, not simply the reservation. Residence in Mystic, Groton, New London, Norwich, Stonington, and North Stonington by Eastern Pequot tribal members was not a sign of absence from tribal affairs, but rather strong evidence for active participation in those affairs. Tribal affiliation therefore, was a function not only of kinship and descent (see below), but of continuous sharing in the social networks in the core area.

What follows is a discussion of the economic and religious activities that gave structure and meaning to the Eastern Pequot community through time, and the kinship and marriage ties that ordered community life and helped to determine tribal membership.

### ***Economic Life—Subsistence and Employment Patterns in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries***

The varied and fertile territories of the Pequots and their neighbors supported a substantial population which, in the early seventeenth century had also grown “rich” through their control over wampum production, and the inland fur trade (Ceci 1990:55-60). The Pequots practiced a mixed subsistence which included farming, fishing, shellfishing, and hunting. Manufactured goods, including clay pots, stone tools, and baskets, were supplemented with luxuries and raw materials traded



*Figure 4. Tamer Brushell Sebastian, Eastern Pequot basketmaker.*

from elsewhere. The Pequot economy required a varied land-base and an extensive trade network, yet because native practices were governed by the seasonal availability of resources and were largely in harmony with the ecological system of the region (Cronon 1983:56), their needs were easily ignored by the European colonists who attempted to displace them.

Eventually confined to a meager 280 acre reservation on lands largely unsuitable for farming, and without access to the maritime resources on which they had previously depended, the Eastern Pequots developed a number of strategies to eke out a living. These strategies, which arose out of economic necessity, were yet largely premised on a traditional mixed subsistence pattern, one which depended on seasonal mobility within a well-defined region, use of a combination of cultivated and wild resources, division of labor by gender with women undertaking the majority of agricultural work, and community interdependence cemented by reciprocal exchange. As in the



seventeenth century, this flexible approach drew criticism from non-Indian observers, whose own economic system was based on different premises: namely, the private ownership of real property, agricultural labor performed by men (including hired, casual labor on a seasonal basis), limited use of wild resources, and an increasingly market oriented system of exchange. Indeed, colonists were so successful in suppressing native-style subsistence practices, that the Mohegans complained to the State government in 1789 that "all our Fishing, Hunting, and Fowling are entirely gone" (CSL; cited in Whipple 1979:81).

Archaeological work on the Mashantucket Pequot reservation, two miles distant from the Lantern Hill reservation, indicates that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, native people depended more heavily on wild resources; berries, nuts, wild greens, fruits, as well as wild game, than did non-Indians of the same period and region (McBride 1996). This suggests that, in spite of the limitations placed on them by overseers and their non-Indian neighbors, a good deal of time was still spent, by both women and men, in gathering and hunting. Shellfish and saltwater fish were also consumed, as were freshwater fish probably from the ponds located on the reservation. The overseers records, the earliest of which dates to 1823, document that eastern Pequots were still ate cod and other sea-fish throughout the nineteenth century.

Farming on the reservation was difficult, not only because the soil was rocky and thin, but because for many years after their establishment there, the former owner, Isaac Wheeler, was accorded herbage rights, and much of the suitable grazing land was leased out to non-Indian farmers of the community. What meager crops the Indians could grow had to be fenced to protect them from grazing animals, who constantly damaged the native gardens (Wheeler 1870:17). It is likely that women and children continued to perform many of the gardening tasks, as well as other food preparation tasks (see Figure 5), on the reservation, as native men were often away, serving as soldiers and seamen.

The dispersed nature of native subsistence, the poor quality of reservation lands, and the small size of the reservation itself required that many of the Eastern Pequots spend some or all of their time away from the reservation. Throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, many Indian children were also "bound out" to English families, where they were fed and housed, and occasionally educated, in exchange for their labor. The role of native people in the local non-Indian farming economy of the region has not yet been fully studied, although many Pequot men were hired as casual labor on local farms in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (e.g. Minor 1976 [1899]). Evidence from elsewhere in Connecticut suggests that casual or day labor accounted for a substantial portion of the man-hours required to keep prosperous and middling farms going, and therefore, that Indian men and women, occupying the lowest economic and social stratum, in fact contributed substantially to the economic success of non-Indian farmers in the area (e.g. Bowen 1990).

Forced to accommodate themselves to the burgeoning market economy of southern New England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, some Native people specialized in the manufacture of crafts of distinctly native origin: women and men wove baskets, brooms, and chair bottoms, and peddled them in exchange for food or other goods (see Material Culture, below). Men, traditionally traders, warriors, and deep sea fishermen in Native southern New England, risked their lives, and spent years separated from their families as soldiers or seamen. For ex-

ample, on June 7, 1814, Moses Brushell, aged 21, joined Captain Paul Barrows, New York Company of Sea Fencibles as a private. Ten years later, Brushell served on the Schooner Buffalo out of Stonington. Moses, as well as several other Eastern Pequot men, were often listed in whaling and non-whaling ships logbooks of the period. Craft or employment specialization, along with the frequent absence of productive adults, although at least in part consistent with traditional subsistence practices and division of labor, made it difficult for any family to be entirely self-sufficient. It also meant, that even in the early years of the reservation period, many of the Eastern Pequots lived off the reservation for some portions of their lives. Economic necessity thus reinforced the "core area" residential pattern characteristic of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Twentieth Century Settlement and Economy, below), wherein some members of the tribe resided on the reservation, while others, although living elsewhere, still maintained a close social network with a strong regional focus.

In these circumstances, reciprocal exchange, the sharing of food, labor, and other resources, cooperation in child care, and other strategies, likewise consistent with the traditional kin-based economy, took on even greater importance through time. The sometimes crushing difficulties of Native life in a period when their heritage, lifeways, and racial origins were equally despised, also created many instances in which the children and economic obligations of some unfortunate community members had to be shouldered by others as well. William Apess, who was born in 1798 of Eastern Pequot parents, became a writer and activist of wide renown. He notes in his autobiography, published in 1831, that upon the breakup of his parents' marriage, he lived for a time with his maternal grandparents and his uncle (O'Connell 1992:5-6). Since they too were incapable of providing a home for William, he was bound out, at the age of five, to the first in a series of white employers and guardians. Significantly, however, Apess always thought of himself as Pequot, and often referred to the Stonington area as "home." (ibid).

### ***Religious Aspects of the Post-Contact Community***

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the spiritual and religious life of Pequot people centered around a belief in *manitou*, a supernatural force which could inhabit animals, and people, as well as many features of the natural world (e.g. Williams 1936:126). Supernatural beings were also known as *Manitous*. Some supernatural beings influenced human affairs, and their aid was sought through fasting, prayer, and sacrifice (Bragdon 1996:189-190). Religious practitioners known as powwows used their own powerful spirit helpers to cure the sick, and to fortell the future (Simmons 1976). Religious worship took the form of prayer, dance, and a yearly sequence of festivals and memorials (Bragdon 1996:217ff). The Pequots and other Indians of Connecticut were to remain "stubbornly" attached to these beliefs and practices throughout the seventeenth century, and several aspects of their belief system have survived to the twentieth century. These include the late summer meetings or powwows held by several Native groups of the region which continue the ancient "Green corn" ceremony practiced by all Native peoples of the eastern Woodlands (Witthoft 1949), stories about supernatural beings, and certain medicinal practices and "charms," (see Folk Beliefs, below).

Although Pequot in the early seventeenth century had been exposed to and were aware of English Christianity, the English provided no real opportunities for the Pequot to learn about their religion and therefore to convert. Wequashcuk, the eastern Pequot ally of the English and Narragansett in the war of 1637, became convinced of the superior power of the English God as a result of their dramatic victory, and for this reason English clergymen claimed Wequascuk as one of their first converts in New England, one of their "first fruits" (Simmons 1987: 75). While Pequot captives who had been taken to Boston were exposed to Christian teaching, those who remained in Narragansett, Niantic, and Mohegan custody in and around their homeland had little contact with English clergy or with Christian Indians. In October of 1713 the English minister and missionary from Martha's Vineyard, Experience Mayhew, visited the Stonington Pequots at the desire of the commissioners of the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (S.P.G.N.E.) and the parts adjacent in America, a missionary society charged with introducing Christianity to New England native people. Mayhew spoke to the Lantern Hill Pequots through an interpreter, Joseph, to a large and apparently interested audience but made no converts. Mayhew returned again in late September and October of 1714 to speak to the Groton and Stonington Pequots about Christianity. At Stonington, an old powwow (the Pequot name for shaman or priest) argued with Mayhew in an attempt to discourage other Indians from hearing his message. Mayhew attempted again to bring Joseph and others to Christianity but made no converts during this visit. Those Indians with whom he spoke professed some knowledge of Christian ideas (or more specifically, of the idea of God) but did not pursue Mayhew's offers to accept the faith (Mayhew 1896: 97-127).

The first major occasion for widespread Christian influence amongst the Native peoples of Stonington and in the neighboring vicinities of Westerly, Charlestown, and New London was the dramatic revival initiated by Henry Whitfield known as the Great Awakening. A charismatic Whitfield disciple, James Davenport, preached several times to the English in the Stonington area in 1741, attracting large numbers of followers. Local Congregational ministers continued to hold indoor and outdoor revivals throughout 1742 and by the following year a number of Stonington Indians had converted and were themselves preaching to neighboring Indian groups, including the Narragansett community in Westerly (Simmons 1983: 253-271). In the ferment that resulted from the revivals of the Great Awakening, a number of traditional (Old Light) Congregational churches experienced defections by members who formed new congregations, many of which were Baptist or independent, thus creating the mix of Baptist, Independent, and Congregational churches present in this region throughout its subsequent religious history. Manuscript records of baptisms and marriages show that the First and Second Congregational Churches of Stonington attracted numbers of local Indians in the years following the Great Awakening, but the Strict Congregational or Separate Church attracted the largest Indian following.

The pastor of the Second (Congregational) Church of North Stonington, Joseph Fish, was an important figure in the post-Great Awakening religious life of the Eastern Pequot from the time of his appointment in 1732 until his death in 1781. Fish, in fact, was responsible for founding the school for Stonington Indians that he took the whole care of from 1757 to 1781. As a representative of the S.P.G.N.E. he wrote to the commissioners in Boston in of the Eastern Pequots' desire for a school for their children:

In this Society about four miles from my dwelling house and three from our meeting house, there is a small Indian town consisting of sixteen houses and wigwams in which there are seventy one persons great and small which are one branch of the Pequot tribe, brethren of those in Groton. I formerly preached to them at times and have lately revisited my labors among them, lecturing once a fortnight, which I propose to continue as long as it appears to be the will of Providence. They have hitherto given a very generous and serious attendance—profess satisfaction, and a desire of further instruction. They have twenty one children of a suitable age to be put to school, and the parents are very desirous of having them taught to read English. In order to do so it is necessary that they should have a school master steadily among them. But they are poor, and altogether unequal to the charge of a school. Whereupon they have made applications to me, desiring that I would forward their request to your honors for assistance. For though they live on lands devoted to their use by the colony which are somewhat profitable (though the profits have not fully come into their hands till now) yet as they tell me, and I can't say but with good reason, they shall really need the most or all the profits of their lands, for several years at least, to defray other necessary charges (Fish 1757).

The S.P.G.N.E. accepted the tribe's invitation and gave Fish the resources to open a school, appoint a teacher, provide books, and supply blankets to the aged, sick, and infirm members of the community. They preferred Indian teachers who sometimes were difficult to find because of military service or because they were in debt and couldn't earn enough from a teacher's salary to cover their financial burdens. Writing to Andrew Oliver, the commissioner in Boston of the S.P.G.N.E., Fish commented on school and community life in 1760:

Some of the children read very handsomely; and if I can keep the school up, among them (which I find pretty difficult by reason of their strange disposition) I doubt not but numbers of them will in due time get well acquainted with the word of God. I am going on with my lectures, and have considerable encouragement, as the women and children (near about 30, commonly) attend and behave very decently. the men are, numbers of them, dead in the [Seven Years] wars, several of them in the army this summer, so I have but few male hearers at present (Fish 1760).

In a letter to the S.P.G.N.E. commissioner Andrew Oliver in Boston, Fish describes difficulties in locating an Indian teacher and apparent factionalism within the community that stood in the way of hiring one teacher. This passage also conveys a sense of the poverty of the Eastern Pequot community in mid-eighteenth century:

I am sorry to tell you that I have entirely failed of my expectations of a schoolmaster, among the Indians, since I wrote you last. I procurd the young Indian, I heretofore spoke of, and presented him to the Indians. But, for some reasons, they were so divided in their sentiments, that the young man was not fond of ingaging. Thinking that it woud answer no good end to crowd him upon them (as some families woud not send their children) I concluded it best to dismiss him. This happend about a twelve month ago. At the Indians request, I waited the return of their old master, Sampson Wayboy, from the Army, but he was not to be found till last spring, when I ingaged again. But just as he was entring upon the school, his creditors called upon him, and he was obliged, again, to take refuge in the army (Fish 1762).

The Pequot children met for S.P.G.N.E. school in the private homes on the reservation, such as that of Mary Ned, whose husband, Edward Nedson, Fish paid to teach until his death in 1769,

at which time about twenty five children were of school age. Nedson was followed by John Shattock, a Narragansett, Jacob Fowler, a Mohegan, and Charles Daniel, a Narragansett. Fish also appointed English schoolteachers such as William Pendleton who served after Charles Daniel's departure. While overseeing the school, Fish also gave religious lectures at least once a month throughout the 1750s to 70s, to the residents of the Eastern Pequot reservation. The limited attendance figures indicate that around twenty to thirty individuals, often women, would attend. Charles Beatty, in his 1768 account of a tour through this region, noted a number of Christians in the Stonington community who had communion with the Narragansetts, thus illustrating the way in which Christian identity worked not only to create community within the tribe but also to reinforce interaction and community between tribes in the general region:

There are several other tribes of Indians in New England, not far distant from this same tribe [Narragansett] that have received the christian religion; a number of whom, as I am very credibly informed...give evidences of their being real christians, and have occasional communion with those of the Nanaganset church, particularly about thirty or forty of the Mohigon Indians...of the Pequot tribe, about twenty; of the Nehentick tribe, some few, six or seven....There are also some of the Stony Town tribe, that have occasional communion with the Nanagansets, and about fifteen or sixteen of the Montauk tribe of Indians, who live upon the east end of Long Island...these sometimes cross the Sound, a great water, in order to join the above church in its divine ordinances (Beatty 1768: 108-109).

Sources on Stonington Pequot religious activities are few and far between following Joseph Fish's well-documented observations. Timothy Dwight noted early in the nineteenth century that some of those who hired out as servants were tolerably industrious, and the women among them, especially, showed a great fondness for dress, and were often seen at church. He noted also one aged man who preached to the others and who was held in very high esteem by them (DeForest 1853: 442).

We know from Jedidiah Morse's visit to the reservation in summer of 1820 that communal religious activities were regularly practiced at that time: "A few are apparently pious, and hold a meeting once a month for religious worship and exhortation, at which they all speak in turn" (Morse 1822: 75). The once-monthly religious meeting reported by Morse may well have been a continuation of the pattern followed by Joseph Fish in the mid-eighteenth century.

Early nineteenth-century accounts of the Stonington Pequots portray a poor and struggling people whose reservation was inadequate as a support base and who found it necessary to work in various capacities for English families on neighboring farms or in the surrounding towns:

Within a few years of the commencement of this century the Stonington Pequots were visited by President Dwight, who has left us several interesting particulars of their condition at that period. He found some residing in wigwams, others in framed houses the best of which were were small, rude and almost worthless as a protection against the weather. In these wretched tenements lived about two-thirds of the tribe; the others being distributed as servants among the English families of the neighborhood. They were in poverty, misery, and degradation....The children were sometimes placed by their parents with English farmers (DeForest 1853: 441-42).

There is also, a still smaller remnant of the Pequot tribe, of about fifty souls, in North Stonington. They own about three hundred acres of ordinary pasture land, with here and

there a patch for tillage, worth about twenty dollars an acre. Their principal men are Samuel and Cyrus Shelley, Samuel Shentup, and James Ned. With very few exceptions, they are...of course poor and miserable. they manufacture mats, brooms, baskets, &c. which are generally sold or exchanged (Morse 1822: 75).

As individuals and families extended their social and economic relations beyond the reservation, so too did they extend religious participation beyond the local and domestic religious services of the reservation. Those Eastern Pequots who moved permanently or temporarily to other communities tended to worship in the company of their kin, other closely related tribes, and other people of color. The Pleasant Street Baptist Church of Westerly, Rhode Island, for example, attracted Pequot members to its largely Narragansett and African American congregation (Dortch 1971; Simmons 1998). The Union Baptist Church of Mystic, where Tamer Brashell had been a member for 73 years, also has a mixed congregation of White, Indian, African American, and Cape Verdean members (Comrie and Kimball 1987: 47, 94). Since the nineteenth century, many Eastern Pequots have also buried their dead in cemeteries associated with these churches, especially the Whitehall and Elm Grove cemeteries (see Map 4, above).

Church social activities and more informal religious worship have also been an important part of Eastern Pequot life in the twentieth century. Elderly tribal members recall "4<sup>th</sup> Sunday meetings," which were held at the home of Sarah Sebastian Williams and Tamer Emeline Sebastian Williams (see Social Interaction, below). Picnics, social events marking religious holidays, funerals, and informal gatherings after church services all were important occasions for Eastern Pequots to keep in touch with other members of the community (Burgess 1997; 1998). Throughout the twentieth century, Eastern Pequots have also continued the old patterns of visiting Narragansett services at the Narragansett reservation church in Charlestown, and attending the Narragansett August Meeting. Recent accounts by living Eastern Pequots of 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday Meetings in the vicinity of the reservation strongly suggest continuity with the pattern of monthly services apparent in Joseph Fish's visits in the eighteenth century, and Jedidiah Morse's visit in the early nineteenth century.

In fact, the widespread participation in religious activities by members of the Eastern Pequot community throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is a demonstrable link to their Indian past, and many Eastern Pequots, like other Native Americans whose ancestors converted to Christianity, consider that religious worship conducted in the presence of other Native people is a valuable means of sustaining their separate identity as Indians. Indeed, some Eastern Pequots consciously connect present religious worship with their traditional past. One Pequot man is known, for example, to have called the 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday meetings "powwows" (Lawrence Wilson III, pers. Comm. 1998). Today Eastern Pequots are active in promoting Native spiritual values within the context of Christian worship, and have helped to organize "Native American Awareness Sundays" at the United Methodist Church in New London and elsewhere (United Methodist Church, May 3, 1992).

### The Brothertown Movement among the Eastern Pequots

Religious fervour among the Native People of southeastern Connecticut and western Rhode Island gave rise in the nineteenth century, to a number of charismatic Indian leaders, among them Samson Occom, of the Mohegan, a protégé and student of the religious reformer Eleazer Wheelock.

Occom determined that Christian Indians would be best served by removing themselves from the harmful influence of white society. Accordingly, in 1786, Occom and his disciples accepted the invitation of the Christian Oneida to remove to Brothertown, in Oneida County, New York, there to join other native converts from communities all over New England (Love 1899). Many members of this community ultimately migrated to Wisconsin, where their descendants remain today. Among the Brothertown emigrants were some members of the Eastern Pequot community, including Thomas Kindness (ibid: 351), and Samuel Shantup, who moved to Wisconsin in 1850. However, there is no evidence that a significant percentage of the eastern Pequot community accompanied Occom, or joined him later, and there is evidence, on the other hand, that some members of the Brothertown community, like Samuel Shantup, ultimately returned to Connecticut.

### ***Kinship, Descent, and Marriage in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries***

Although information about kinship and marriage in native southern New England is ambiguous, it is clear that, like many speakers of Algonquian languages, the Pequots reckoned kinship in accordance with the principles of unilineal descent. It is likely that, among the Pequots, and possibly the Narragansett and Niantic as well, descent was matrilineal (that is, a sister and brother belong to the same lineage as their mother and her brothers) (Morgan 1862:135; see also Simmons and Aubin 1975, Burton and Lowenthal 1974). In 1877, Lewis Henry Morgan also suggested that the Pequots, like the Mohegans, were organized into three exogamous (out-marrying) matrilineal phratries (groupings of clans) known as Wolf, Turkey, and Turtle (Morgan 1877:173-174).

While matrilineal descent was likely important in determining rights to land, leadership positions in southern New England were usually inherited through the father's line. There is contrasting evidence, however, derived in part from the genealogy of the Mohegan sachem Uncus, that his descent from a "sachem" woman of the Pequots was an important factor in establishing his own right to rule (Burton and Lowenthal 1974:595). This (from a modern, non-Indian point of view) complex arrangement may be evidence for what is sometimes called a "Double descent system" in which lineal descent from each parent helps to determine one's rights and responsibilities in different social realms (e.g. Ottenburg 1968).

Although descent was important in determining tribal affiliation, it was not the sole criterion then (nor is it now) in deciding to which "nation" a person might belong. In the seventeenth century, Roger Williams, who lived among the Narragansetts, Niantics and Cowwesets, described several ways in which a person might become a member of their communities, including adoption, wardship and marriage (1936). Recent research into community linkages in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries also suggests that Indian people maintained complex ties to several communities, even while maintaining their distinctive tribal identity (Bragdon 1997).

Descent and tribal affiliation were significant in determining whom one could marry. Generally, in unilineal systems, one is forbidden from marrying those relatives who are members of one's own lineage (such as parallel cousins- those cousins who are the children of one's father's brother or mother's sister). However, in these systems, so-called "cross-cousin" marriages may have been preferred. Roger Williams implies that marriage partners were known to one another (and thus

probably members of the same community) (1936:147-148). However, the Uncas genealogy also suggests that elite women were sometimes given in marriage to men of other tribes (Burton and Lowenthal 1974:595).

As many anthropologists have observed, ideal kinship systems are abstractions which, in life, can seldom be fully realized. The vicissitudes of Pequot life after colonization, including severe population loss through disease and the murder of many community members in 1636-7, their enslavement, the enforced absorption of Pequots into other groups, and outmigration, especially at the end of the eighteenth century, meant that marriage choices became even more limited than had been the case under the older unilineal system. It is likely that the maternal line continued to weigh significantly in the ultimate choice of residence and tribal affiliation among the Pequots and other native people of southern New England. This continued matrilineal influence both hearkens back to seventeenth century patterns, and demonstrates the important role that women played in reservation and community life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Because Native men were often absent, and because so many Native men died while in military service or at sea, women by default took on many of the responsibilities of community life, and often were its most long-lived and sustaining members. Native women, especially in the nineteenth century sometimes married men of color, who were welcomed into the community as were Indian spouses from elsewhere in New England.

It is notable, however, that those marriages for which we have records, particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, tended to be between people of Indian ancestry, and that preference was shown for marriage with other Pequots, and secondarily between Pequots, Narragansetts, Mohegans, and Niantics. This pattern can be explained partly by the laws and ordinances which forbid or limited social intercourse and marriage between Indians and non-Indians (e.g. Book of General Laws of Connecticut, 1673), but even in the absence of such legislation, Native spouses were preferred.

The Brushell family is a good example. Although always identified as Eastern Pequot, Brushell men and women trace several intermarriages among members of several southern New England tribes. Table 4 provides an overview of these intermarriages beginning with Moses Brushell who was married twice, both times to Eastern Pequot women. Moses and his two Pequot marriages are noted in the first generation. Moses had at least two children, but only one is known to have had descendants. This daughter, Tamer Brushell, is noted in the second generation as married to a non-Indian. However, her children and grandchildren married other Eastern Pequot members as well as members of other southern New England tribes.

In addition, several marriages recorded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century link members of the Paucatuck Eastern Pequot faction (see below), to the wider eastern Pequot community. For example, the extended kinship ties of the Hoxie family include links to the Brushell line. John Noyes Hoxie, brother of Rachel (Hoxie) Jackson, was married at least three times. Some time around 1860 he married Elizabeth Wheeler. Later, in 1893, he married Mary Francis McKinney, an Indian of Long Island.

In 1900 Hoxie was living on the reservation with his nephew William H. Jackson, who had married Francis/Fanny Roberts, daughter of Jane McKinney Sebastian. Fanny's aunt was Mary



**Table 4.**  
**Intermarriages, Brushshell Family, 1795-1978**

First Generation 1793-1850	Second Generation 1822-1900	Third Generation 1849-1942	Fourth Generation 1870-1978
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● + ●</li> <li>● + ●</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● + ○</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● + Shinnecock</li> <li>● + Shinnecock</li> <li>● + ●</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ●</li> <li>● + Mashantucket</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + Shinnecock</li> <li>● + ●</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + Mashantucket</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + ●</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>■ + Mohegan</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ●</li> <li>● + Mashantucket</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + ○</li> <li>● + Narragansett</li> <li>● + ●</li> <li>● + ●</li> </ul>
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content;"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● = Eastern Pequot</li> <li>○ = Non Indian</li> </ul> <p>All other tribes noted.</p> <p>Years per generation are the earliest birth date and the last death date of that generation.</p> </div>			

Data provided by Barbara Madison.

McKinney, who was married to Francisco Sebastian. Therefore, Tamer Sebastian's grandchildren's other grandmother married into the Hoxie line.

John Noyes Hoxie's daughter by his first wife, Jane Wheeler, was named Martha Ann. Martha Ann married Cyrus George (a Mashantucket Pequot) and had a daughter named Annie George. Annie married Jesse Sebastian, grandson of Tamer (Brushshell) Sebastian. Therefore, Rachel Hoxie's niece married Tamer Sebastian's grandson.

In another example, Eunice (Wheeler) Gardner was the daughter of Primus Wheeler and Charlotte Potter. Charlotte's parents are unknown, but Ammon Potter's uncle was Calvin Williams (see below). Williams married Amanda Nedson Douglas, and Tamer Emeline Sebastian.

Phebe Jackson, sister of William H. Jackson and Fanny Roberts, had children by Isaac Atwood Williams and George Spellman. One of the Spellman sons married his cousin Olive Jackson, the daughter of William H. Jackson and Fanny Roberts. Olive had children by Spellman, as well as a child by Moses Sebastian Jr.

The many links between eastern Pequot families and to other Indians of the region which these examples illustrate were part of what it meant to be an Eastern Pequot. Links between Eastern Pequot families and other Indians did not, in the minds of Eastern Pequots or other Indian peoples of the region, diminish the legitimacy of membership within a given tribe, but rather, reinforced the strong sense of Indian identity which clearly animates the Eastern Pequot community today.

### ***Tribal Membership in Later Years***

In the nineteenth century, Eastern Pequots were identified by outsiders on the basis of their descent, residence, and according to a conflated notion of race and culture. Non-Indians consistently judged Indians on the basis of how closely they conformed to an idealized "Indian" appearance, and presumed to evaluate them on the basis of an ethnocentric moral standard as well (e.g. DeForest 1851:442). As ideas about race came to serve an increasingly important role in political and social relations in southern New England, Native people found themselves further marginalized and despised. Nevertheless, Native people of the region clearly continued to define membership within their communities, employing their own standards, which were not based on racial distinctions. Overseers, appointed by the court, according to legislation enacted beginning in 1821 (see *Compilation of Significant Connecticut Indian Law*, under separate cover), were responsible only for the administration of reservation lands, and disbursement of funds to needy tribal members (ibid.) There is no evidence that overseers played any role in determining tribal membership, a right which was rather retained by the tribe.

Overseer's lists of the Eastern Pequot Tribal members have been recorded throughout most of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first such listing of tribal members that survives is from 1823; the last was made in 1940. In most cases, these lists contain the names of tribal members living both on and off the reservation at North Stonington.

The overseers appointed by the state of Connecticut to serve the Eastern Pequot Tribe were men who resided in the general vicinity of the reservation. Tribal members who lived on the reservation and were provided for by the overseers were easily identified. Tribal members who lived off the reservation but within the Social Core Area, for example, in New London, Mystic, North Stonington, and elsewhere, were also enumerated by the overseers,<sup>1</sup> as indeed many Native people elsewhere today are identified as living "on or near the reservation." It is reasonable to assume, however, that the overseers were provided the names of off-reservation tribal members by those who lived on the reservation, or through the intercession of tribal leaders or family heads. It is doubtful that the overseers would have become acquainted with or learned of these off-reservation tribal members in any other way. Thus, the membership of the Eastern Pequot Tribe identified itself, furnishing the overseer with the names of its members, which were then entered into their reports.

That the Eastern Pequot Tribe acted affirmatively to identify its membership is exemplified by the case of Franklin C. Williams. Williams appears on the 1905 overseer report and the 1900/1910 combined federal censuses as a member of the Western Pequot Tribe (Fanning 1905). His affiliation there was through his father, Ephraim Williams, a member of the Western Pequot Tribe. Williams's mother was Sarah Sebastian, the daughter of Tamer Brushell Sebastian and, by ascription, a member of the Eastern Pequot Tribe. In 1929 Williams sought and received permission to build a home on the Eastern Pequot Reservation. At the same time, he changed his tribal membership from the Western Pequot to the Eastern Pequot Tribe, claiming such a right through his mother (Williams n.d.a). There is no evidence whatever that the Eastern Pequot Tribe objected to or otherwise opposed Williams's membership change. Indeed, Williams appears as a tribal member on the 1930 overseer report and all subsequent enumerations of the Eastern Pequot Tribe to 1940. He died in 1949 (see file: Overseer Reports).<sup>2</sup>

No evidence has been located that membership lists for the Eastern Pequot Tribe were either created or compiled by the state of Connecticut or by the tribe during the period from 1940 to about 1990. However, "membership rules" that had been established in the mid-1930s remained in effect.

In 1935 the Connecticut State Park and Forest Commission assumed the role of overseer of the state's Indian tribes. Shortly thereafter, it promulgated regulations regarding tribal membership. Lists supplied by the former overseers, containing the names of the members of each tribe living both on and off their reservations, were considered "inclusive," that is, base lists against which all future claimants would be judged. Rules for admission to the membership of an Indian tribe in Connecticut were as follows:

- (a) Children of resident members will be members by birth.
- (b) Children of non-resident members will be eligible for membership upon proof of such parentage.
- (c) All other admissions to a tribe will require written application, accompanied by reasonable proof of descent and presence of Indian blood. Such applications should be endorsed by the recognized Leader of the tribe, if any, or in lieu thereof the endorsement of two resident members. In doubtful cases the Commission will hold a public hearing with due notice to the interested parties before granting or refusing the application. (State Park and Forest Commission 1936)

The significance of these rules is that they were based on previously compiled, official lists of tribal members, along with other contemporary records on the tribe, all subject to the authority of the tribe's leadership or the resident adult members of the tribe (cf. Campisi 1990:134). The implication for every reservation-based Indian tribe in Connecticut was that tribal business and political activity, including the determination of membership, continued as it had before, centering on and around reservation lands (ibid.).<sup>3</sup>

This background discussion on the history, the tradition of intermarriage with nearby tribes, the recording of the names of members by overseers, and the membership practices of the Eastern Pequot Tribe, is provided to shed light on the nature and constitution of the present-day Eastern Pequot Community.

## The Eastern Pequot Community in the Twentieth Century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Native peoples of southern New England had become largely invisible to outsiders. Victims of economic and social discrimination, as Indians and as "mixed bloods," Indians had learned to "cover" (McMullen 1994) and many rarely alluded to their Indian heritage to outsiders. Nevertheless, evidence from many sources demonstrates that the Eastern Pequots had developed and maintained a distinctive, resilient, and flexible community. Characteristics of this community included the following:

1. Strong self-identification as Eastern Pequots, an identity expressed and reinforced through the use of shared and manipulated symbols.
2. The Reservation as a symbol and focus of Eastern Pequot identity.
3. Extensive reciprocal networks
4. Recurring social interaction
5. Distinctiveness based on cultural continuities in folklore, subsistence, diet, and employment
6. A regional focus, centered around the reservation, defined here as the Social Core Area
7. Shared linguistic features
8. Recognition by outsiders of the Indian heritage of the Eastern Pequot.

### ***Self-Identification as Eastern Pequots***

The Eastern Pequot community shares many of the characteristics of those distinctive collectivities of people known as ethnic groups in that they participate in some patterns of normative behavior and form part of a larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system (Cohen 1974:ix-x). However, unlike ethnic groups which have emerged within the relatively recent past, the Eastern Pequots, like American Indian peoples elsewhere, are distinct in having what anthropologist Edward Spicer has termed a "persistent identity system" (1971:798), one which has survived, and even been strengthened by, changes in the form of the governing state (ibid.) The Eastern Pequots, like other New England Indians, have persisted in spite of the opposition to them as a group, the negative stereotyping, and exploitation of surrounding non-Indians. Ironically, the consistent failure on the part of the government of the state of Connecticut to offer them equal protection under the law has had the unintended effect of strengthening them as a people.

The Eastern Pequot community as it has emerged in the twentieth century is more than simply a product of resistance, however. Eastern Pequots have consistently identified themselves through symbols, often not clearly articulated, but as Karen Blu has argued elsewhere, "the more powerful, the less they can be expressed in words" (1980:230). For the Eastern Pequots, their Indian identity is in the nature of a "primordial tie" (Geertz 1963:109). This identity (at least until recently) was

generally acknowledged even though Eastern Pequots themselves felt that to admit it was detrimental to social and economic success (e.g. Burgess 1998: interview with Darlene Hamlin) (see also Squire 1996 for similar perceptions among contemporary Western Abenakis). The symbols of Eastern Pequot identity which emerge in interviews, written descriptions and observations of the Eastern Pequot people, separately and together, include their constant and explicit references to their Pequot past. These references take a number of forms, most notably their frequent mention of the 1637 massacre at Mystic Fort, their longstanding differences with the Mohegans which stem from that conflict, their reverence for the ancient burial grounds on and near the reservation, and the widespread sharing of stories about historic Pequot people and events (see Continuities, below).

The Eastern Pequot community also shares a number of norms and values, including the common recognition that sharing, of food, labor, or other goods, with other members of the Pequot community, is a moral obligation (see Reciprocal networks, below). Secondly, Eastern Pequots share a profound distrust of outsiders which certainly dates back to the seventeenth century. When anthropologist Frank Speck attempted to conduct fieldwork on the reservation in 1904, for example, he was greeted with the same suspicion that often marked relations between the Pequots and their overseers, and with earlier visitors as well (Speck 1917:101, J.R. Williams n.d., Dwight 1822 3:14).

The Lantern Hill reservation itself, although not large or productive enough to support the entire community, serves the symbolic function of centering the extended group, and represents Eastern Pequot history, heritage, and continued survival. Frequent visits to the reservation, and especially to the ponds and to the historic cemeteries located on or near it reinforces the symbolic importance of the reservation.

Other patterns also persist. Eastern Pequots have always distinguished themselves even from the Western Pequots, who lived nearby, and with whom they share a common history, ancestry, and language. Although there are few artifacts of eastern Pequot manufacture outside of private collections and museums (see Continuities below), basketmakers such as Liney Williams and her husband Calvin in particular are recalled with affection by many elderly Eastern Pequots. Other historic artifacts are recognized, especially a stone pestle used by Tamer Brushell Sebastian, which still stands in the garden of tribal member Margaret Wilson (see discussion of community interaction, below). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, certain Eastern Pequots have adopted certain pan-Indian symbols, which serve, as Ann McMullen has recently pointed out, to remind outsiders of local Indian identity and heritage (1996).

Part of being Indian is the identification with other Indians, and, when possible, intermarriage with them. Eastern Pequots, although severely limited in their choice of marriage partners, have often sought out other Indians, and intermarriage among the Indians of southern New England, including Pequots, Mohegans, Wampanaogs, Niantics, and Narragansetts is and has been very common. Native people from other parts of the country, have also been welcomed as marriage partners (see Kinship, Descent, and Marriage, above).

The identification as Indian also takes the form of participation in Native-sponsored events, especially the August meeting sponsored by the Narragansetts, religious worship, such as the

Sunday meetings held at Aunt Liney's house, and picnics and dances sponsored by Eastern Pequot community members (see discussion of social interaction, below).

As is true in all Native communities, being Eastern Pequot is to share in the strong family ties of the community. Kin and marriage relations are inextricable from it means to be Indian, and most of the adult Eastern Pequots have an extensive genealogical knowledge of the network of relationships that links the community together. These close social networks are marked by sharing of food and other resources, the use of nicknames for community members not known to outsiders, and shared memories and stories (see below).

As Joyce Bourne-Silva, who was born in 1931 in Providence, and whose mother was born on the Lantern Hill reservation recalled:

My Mom stuck to being called Indian. She tenaciously clung to it. She was proud of being Indian. She didn't let us forget our heritage" (Burgess 1998, interview with Joyce Bourne-Silva)

### ***The Reservation as a Focus of Eastern Pequot Identity***

Although the Lantern Hill Reservation was too small and unproductive to support the majority of the Eastern Pequot Tribal members, it remains an important symbol of Eastern Pequot identity. Among other things, it serves as the focus of the Social Core Area, and the center of a large social network of Eastern Pequot People. Evidence from the Overseer's records, (see below) also demonstrates that only Eastern Pequot people could reside on the reservation, and that part of the Overseer's duties was to determine who was eligible to live there.

### ***Residence: Enclaves within the Social Core Area***

The Eastern Pequots have maintained residence in their own aboriginal territory since the time of contact. This continues to be evidenced in the settlement patterns of this century, which are concentrated in three distinct "enclaves" in Mystic/Groton and Mystic/Stonington, Old Mystic, and the North Stonington/Norwich areas. With the increase in employment opportunities for minority groups that accompanied the Civil rights and Native American Rights Movements of the 1960's, many Eastern Pequots moved to urban centers within the Social Core Area.

Mystic has been the site of residence for many Eastern Pequot tribal members since the early nineteenth century. The area of Mystic where most tribal members lived is the High Street, Starr Street, and Pequot Avenue section of town. Today, the eldest member of the Eastern Pequot tribe, Lillian Sebastian, has a home on High Street Lane in Mystic. Her brother, Howard Sebastian, is her next-door neighbor; Elsie Wilson, widow of Lawrence Wilson Jr., and mother of Lawrence Wilson III and Joyce Wilson, lives a few hundred feet away on High Street; Joyce Wilson lives two blocks away, and Margaret Wilson, daughter of Alden Wilson, lives in her family's home on Starr Street Lane, the next block over. During the winter, Arthur Sebastian comes to stay with his sister Lillian.

When Lillian was a child, Sylvia Sebastian Steadman, Lillian's great-aunt, lived on High Street Lane. At that time, Lillian's family lived in the same house as Sylvia. Sarah Williams, wife of Ephraim Williams, and sister of Sylvia Sebastian Steadman, lived next door, as did Sarah Williams' daughter Bertha Brown. Tamer Brushell lived with Aunt Sylvia Steadman for some time in Mystic during the early part of the century (Burgess, interview with Eleanor Manson, 1997). Lula Eleazor and her family also lived on High Street Lane, as did Charles Bostwick and his wife. Alden Wilson lived with his family on Starr Street Lane. Solomon Sebastian also lived on High Street Lane for some time before he moved to Pequot Avenue in Mystic.

Mary Sebastian, the Tribal Chairperson, lived in various places in Mystic as a child. In the early 1930's, Violet Hall and her family lived with Sylvia Sebastian Steadman, her father's great-aunt. At that time, her father's mother, Sarah Williams, lived on the top floor of the house, while Sylvia Steadman lived in the basement. Violet then lived with her family near the Mystic Bridge during the Hurricane of 1938. The hurricane swept Violet's family home into the Mystic River, and Violet's family lived with Daisy and Harry Jones on Hatch Street in Mystic for the next few months. Violet's family then moved to Pawcatuck.

Old Mystic was another area where many Eastern Pequots lived. Frank Sebastian Sr., and Edith Robinson lived there, as did Bill Sebastian and his wife, Roy Sebastian Sr. and his family, and Frank Sebastian Jr., and his family.

Eastern Pequot people also lived in Pawcatuck. The Frank Sebastian family moved there from Old Mystic in 1942. They lived on one floor of a large house shared by Helen and Joe Williams, Dorothy and Earl Sebastian, and their children. Nearby were Daisy and Harry Jones Sr., as well as Lilly and Harry Jones, Jr.

Another concentration of Eastern Pequots lived on the Lantern Hill reservation. Tamer Emeline Sebastian Williams and her daughter Sadie Holland lived there in the first half of the twentieth century, as did Catherine Carpenter Harris. Various Eastern Pequots would live on the reservation at times when they needed a place to stay. These included members of the Lewis family, as well as the Perrys of Norwich.

The Eastern Pequots who resided in Norwich lived in the West Main Street and Clay Street area. Their families kept in close touch, visiting often, and often going together to the reservation. They saw their Mystic cousins at tribal events, meetings, and social gatherings.

These distinct enclaves further reinforced Eastern Pequot identity, and the close ties of the the community.

### ***Reciprocal Networks***

Both historical records and oral histories demonstrate that sharing and mutual assistance was an essential part of being Indian, and crucial to the survival of the Eastern Pequot community as a whole. Overseers records dating to the nineteenth century note that tribal members took care of one another, receiving only minimal reimbursement for these services. For example, overseer's accounts for 1861 record that Charity [Fagans] and Calvin [Ned] were paid small amounts for

taking care of Murinda Dug (Overseers Accounts). Charlie Lewis, a tribal member born in 1934, recalls that when he was a boy, Aunt Liney (Tamer Emeline Sebastian) and Aunt Hattie Sebastian and Grandma (Carpenter) Harris "would all help each other. They would sometimes can together and share foods," (Burgess 1997, interview with Charlie Lewis). Likewise, Margaret Geraldine Wilson, an Eastern Pequot tribe member born in 1924, who has lived in Mystic all her life, told interviewers that her father would "often go to visit tribal members on the reservation to check on them." (ibid, interview with Margaret Geraldine Wilson). Lillian Sebastian (now 92) remembers that her mother shared food with Bertha Brown, a member of the Paucatuck faction (see below) (Burgess 1998). The Sebastian Foundation (see Political action, below), founded in 1965, was similarly a fund established to assist tribal members. Collections for this fund were taken up at every tribal function. More recently, Ashbow Sebastian has been distributing canned goods to tribal members, "because it came to him in a dream that he should," (Burgess 1997, interview with Ashbow Sebastian). Sebastian was successful in receiving funds from United Way, Good Will, Pfizer, and Electric Boat to help aid the tribe (ibid.)

### ***Social Interaction***

The essence of the Eastern Pequot community is its social relations, which tie families together, and reinforce community and individual identity. Many tribal members have remarked on the picnics, dances, and parties they and their parents and grandparents attended at the homes of other Eastern Pequots.

Beginning sometime prior to 1921, the precise date is not known, members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe began gathering for "4th Sunday Meetings."<sup>4</sup> From all indications these meetings were both religious and social in nature, usually involving about one dozen adults and an equal number of children, all but one or two of the adults being members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe.<sup>5</sup> These meetings, enjoyed by old and young alike, included special meals where "Indian" foods were served. Eastern Pequot men who were hunters and fishermen brought and shared their game and fish. The number of people at these events varied from 40 to as many as 150 (Burgess 1998).

At these meetings, while the children would play in the woods or swim in the pond, the adults discussed tribal matters, and gossiped, and all enjoyed the food that everyone contributed. Topics of discussion included problems any of the reservation residents or tribal members were having with the State or local officials regarding land use or assistance; problems with trespassers who came to hunt, fish, or log on the reservation; and any problems regarding the LeGault faction. Children and adults played games, danced and staged skits. According to elderly tribal members, these meetings also replaced the prayer meetings which were held on High St. Lane during the 1920's (Burgess 1998).

The exception to these typically small meetings was the much larger 4th Sunday Meeting held every July. This day-long event was attended by about forty people (c. 20 to 25 percent of the total tribal membership), almost all members of the tribe. There was a picnic and also the opportunity for more extensive social interaction between tribal members.

The first series of 4th Sunday Meetings was held at the home of tribal member Sarah Sebastian Williams (d. 1932) on High Street in Mystic. In 1921 the meetings shifted to the reservation and



the home of Tamer Emeline Sebastian Williams (d. 1942). Meetings were held there from 1921 until 1937, when the principals involved were either experiencing failing health or had died. Tribal members would walk to the reservation and the Williams home from "a far distance" to attend the meetings. Also present was a preacher, Ephraim Williams (d. 1929), a Western Pequot married to Sarah Sebastian. Tribal members recall that the following Eastern Pequot families attended the 4th Sunday Meetings on the reservation: Perry, Alton Smith family, Sebastian, Jordan, and Robinson.

About 1940 tribal members began gathering for picnics on the 4th of July. The purpose of these gatherings was purely social, involving families and friends of the Eastern Pequot Tribe. While there was no explicit affirmation forthcoming from tribal members interviewed, it appears that these 4th of July meetings served as a replacement for the 4th Sunday Meetings that had been held for many years on the reservation.

The 4th of July gatherings were first organized and hosted by tribal member Alden Wilson and his wife, Josephine, at their farm, "The Willows," in Mystic.<sup>6</sup> Gatherings took place there between 1940 and 1960. Social activities connected with what was essentially a tribal picnic, one that involved several Eastern Pequot families (Sebastian, Powers, Jackson, Brown, Lewis, and Perry), as well as Indians from other tribes in the area, included softball games, horseshoes, and childrens' games. The gatherings were also a time for "chit-chatting" and "gossiping" by adult tribal members. Numbers of participants ranged between 80 to 150 people, that is, one-third or more of the total tribal membership. Also in attendance were a number of non-Indians including spouses of tribal members, neighbors, and friends of the tribe. Chief Hockeo, grandson of tribal leader Frank



*Figure 5. Fourth of July picnic at Alden Wilson's, 1952. Eastern Pequots are joined here by Narragansett and Nipmuck friends.*

Sebastian, recalls these gatherings, and describes many of their features, including the cooperative preparations that they required, and the "Indian" style menu:

The communications between the families was something to see. It was electrifying to hear the news by word of mouth that a "Pow-wow" was coming. It started about 2 weeks before, all the men and boys of the Tribal families would gather at the ocean shore at Mystic, Ct. as our Ancestors had done many years ago fishing, clamming, crabbing, and lobstering. The men prepared clams, fish, chowder, quahogs, crabs, and lobster, which were baked, steamed, and boiled.... The women in turn would be preparing Indian pudding, succatash, johnny cake, cornmeal cakes and bread, corn on the cob...It was a memorable time for all the tribal family (Hockeo May 2, 1988).

Age and health problems eventually forced Alden Wilson to discontinue hosting the 4th of July gatherings. For the next twenty years (1960 - 1980) they were held intermittently at various Eastern Pequot homes (Wilson, Sebastian, Jordan families) in the Mystic area, but on a much more modest scale. However, beginning in 1980, the 4th of July gatherings were reorganized as a tribal event and resumed, at first with a small number of attendees, at the home of Alden Wilson's grandnephew, Lawrence Wilson, III. The annual 4th of July gatherings have continued to the present, although today two other holidays are also occasions for important tribal social gatherings: Labor Day and Christmas. These social events are attended largely by the same mix of tribal members and in the same numbers as the original 4th of July gatherings at "The Willows" (Starna 1997).

Further evidence for the historical community is the sharing of food resources among tribal members. For example, in the late 1930s and into the 1940s, the Frank Sebastian family often invited tribal members living on the reservation for Sunday dinner. This gesture of hospitality provided reservation residents, who were not as economically well-off as those living off-reservation, with a good meal and fellowship. It was customary, tribal elders report, to invite family members to dinner or to a picnic rather than giving the appearance of providing "handouts" to their less fortunate relatives. In the 1940s, members of the Roy Sebastian, Sr., Lawrence Wilson, Sr., and Perry families often delivered food to their relatives on the reservation, where conditions were sometimes barely tolerable (Starna 1997).

A final demonstration of community is the annual powwow held on the Eastern Pequot reservation. With the reorganization of the tribe in the late 1970s, a powwow was inaugurated to coincide with the tribe's annual meeting, held on the reservation [see summaries of tribal meeting minute entries in criterion (c)]. This event, which is organized by a committee appointed by the tribal council, remains fundamentally a tribal affair attended primarily by Eastern Pequots families, but also by members of surrounding tribes: Narragansett, Mashantucket Pequot, and Mohegan.<sup>7</sup> Events for this celebration include drumming and dancing, craft demonstrations, childrens' games and activities, and the preparation and serving of a wide variety of foods and refreshments. Attendance figures over the past ten years have ranged between 150 to 200 participants per day (i.e., one-third or more of the total tribal membership). Many of the attendees pitch tents on reservation lands, or arrive, often having travelled considerable distances, in small campers and recreation vehicles for the two to three day event. For the great majority of Eastern Pequots, to be able to camp and socialize on their ancestral land with other tribal members is the most meaningful aspect of the powwow (Starna 1997).

The Eastern Pequot powwow, which current tribal members consider to be an important aspect of the revitalization of the tribe, and a renewal of tribal traditions, centers around dancing and prayers. Many of the participants, including now Chief Hockeo, wear regalia of deer skin, fur, feathers, and quills. In 1996, for example, Chief Hockeo wore a headdress of eagle feathers, beads, and horsehair presented to him by Wayne Reels of the Mashantucket Pequot tribe (Sebastian, K. 1996). Such widely recognized symbols of Indian identity as “toe heel” dancing, calumet pipes, and drums are also in evidence at these powwows, although they are otherwise free of commercial overtones (Burgess pers. Comm. 1998).

## **Cultural Continuity**

### **Material Culture**

Like all Native people of southern New England, the Eastern Pequots have in the last three centuries come to resemble non-Indians in their material possessions and dwellings. Nevertheless, Eastern Pequots retained their knowledge of basket-making (for which they have been well-known since the early eighteenth century) into the twentieth century. Eva Butler, a local scholar who was very knowledgeable about the traditional New England woodsplit basketry tradition wrote:

“Lina” Tamer Sebastian, widow of Calvin Williams, and daughter of Tamer and Manuel, died in her eighties a few years ago. She was the last of the old basket makers who lived on the reservation. “Lina” made splint baskets, large and small in the form of berry baskets, market baskets, and divided baskets for knives and forks. She always made her baskets of ash, but her husband, Calvin, made market baskets and clothes baskets of white oak splints. “Lina” dyed some of her splints and painted floral designs on others, using skoke (*Phytolacca americana*) for red, and huckleberries for black or blue. She also used bluing for blue. In addition to making baskets, “Lina” bot-tomed chairs with splints.

On one of his numerous visits to the Na-tive peoples of southern Connecticut in the early part of the century, anthropologist Frank Speck also collected a wooden mortar of the “scoop decorated” type, from a family in Stonington. Speck is said to have collected one of “Lina’s” baskets as well (Speck 1904).



*Figure 6. Eastern Pequot mortar (Speck 1928).*

Dwellings on the reservation are now mostly of relatively recent origin, but descriptions survive of wigwams built on the reservation as late as the early nineteenth century (e.g. Dwight 1822), as well as dwellings that non-Indian observers described as "huts," but which were probably distinctive Native versions of framed dwellings (for a more lengthy discussion of these varied houseforms elsewhere in native southern New England see Little 1980, McBride and Chereau 1996, McBride 1990). Since no archaeology has been done on the reservation, serious study of the historic material culture of the eastern Pequot reservation is difficult, however, excavations on the Mashantucket reservation two miles to the west of the Eastern Pequot reservation (McBride 1990, 1994) suggests that archaeological research will demonstrate that a long and conservative use of traditional items of material culture, costume ornament, and utensils can be documented on the Eastern Pequot reservation as well.

### Diet

Nowhere do Eastern Pequot people become more enthusiastic about discussing the past than when describing what they, their parents, and their grandparents and all their kin and friends ate, especially the special foods prepared for family and tribal events. Many of these foods of native origin have become part of the traditional diet of rural southern New England, but for the Eastern Pequots, as for other Native people of the region, many of them have a special symbolic significance as well. Corn bread or johnny cake, succotash, cod, clam chowder, venison, and other game, and many wild berries, greens and tubers were and are relished among Eastern Pequot people, and often were served at Indian gatherings (e.g. Burgess 1998).

Overseers records which date to the early decades of the nineteenth century also suggest that there is a great deal of continuity in the foodways of the Eastern Pequots. Overseers record constant allotments of corn, cod, and tobacco, things the seventeenth century ancestors of the Pequots would have considered essential (e.g. Williams 1936).

### Employment

Cultural continuities also emerge in the employment specializations among Eastern Pequot men and women. Men have, since the seventeenth century, been warriors and deep sea fishermen, traders and guides. In the eighteenth century, many Eastern Pequot men were lost at sea or in battle. Of those men who survived and returned home, several found employment as stonemasons, and built many of the stone walls that criss-cross the reservation and the surrounding countryside. Most of the stone walls in Mystic and Stonington are the work of Solomon Sebastian, while those on the reservation were built by Francisco Sebastian Sr. and Frank Edward Sebastian Sr. This profession is also traditional among other Native men of the region.

Native men, who were often forced to work off the reservation, also developed a reputation as "steel bridge workers," just as the Mohawks of New York were well known "high steel workers." Indian men had the local reputation of "not being afraid of heights" (Lawrence Wilson III, pers. comm. 1998).

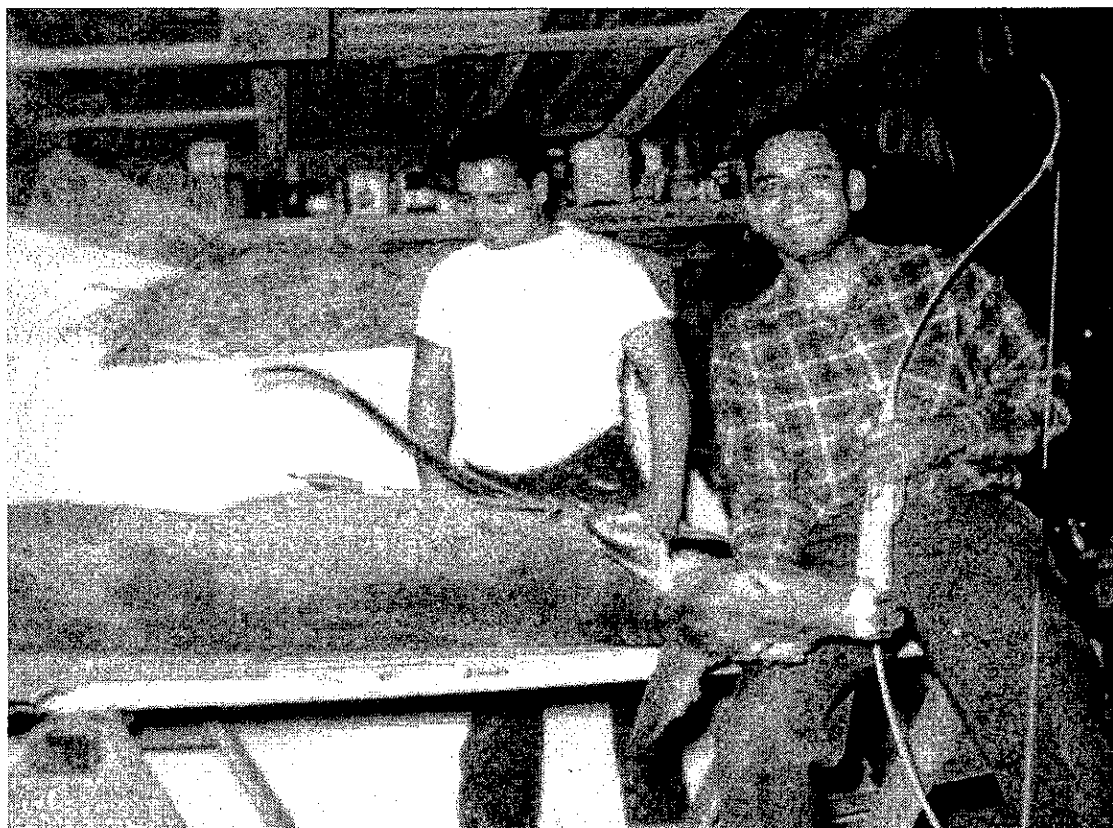
Although men also made baskets, it is women who appeared most often to specialize in this craft, passing their skills and knowledge onto their daughters, as Tamer Brushell is said to have taught Aunt Liney.

Women were also skilled herbalists, healers, and often, midwives. A surprisingly large number of Eastern Pequot people now living were born at home, and their mothers often had the help of knowledgeable native women, who sometimes practiced regularly as midwives. Sylvia Sebastian Steadman, for example was a well-known local midwife.

In the twentieth century, professions often run in “families,” and Eastern Pequot people were often able to secure jobs for other members of the community at their own workplaces (Burgess 1998).

### Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping

Although not a full-time occupation, many Eastern Pequot men were taught to hunt, fish, and trap, and many living members of the tribe recall hunting on the reservation. Especially during the Depression, all game was shared among family and friends. This long-established use of the reservation, otherwise very unproductive for farming, represents a significant and long-standing economic effort among the Eastern Pequot, and one of the few ways in which non-reservation members could and did benefit from the reservation lands. Eastern Pequot tribal members also joined to-



*Figure 7. Roy Sebastian Jr. (now Chief Hockeo) and Donald Sebastian, 1957.*

gether off the reservation for clamming and shellfishing (Burgess 1998). Another interesting activity with traditional associations is archery. Roy Sebastian Sr. and his wife Julia were acclaimed archers, and competed in several parts of the eastern United States. Mark Sebastian still has his father's old fletching machine for making arrows, and several tribal members still practice at a range on the reservation (ibid).

## Folk Beliefs

Probably the most significant example of cultural continuity among the Eastern Pequots are their folk stories and beliefs, flourishing now as they did in the seventeenth century. Published and interview sources present a large body of folk beliefs about the supernatural and legendary events that have persisted in the Eastern Pequot community over the years. The stories of ghosts, devils, witches, and other phenomena are very reminiscent of local Indian lore recorded among the Wampanoag of Gay Head, the Narragansett of Rhode Island, and the nearby Mohegan of Connecticut. Such stories are in a sense the memories of a small face-to-face community that has lived in a place for a long time, long enough to animate the landscape, abandoned houses and farms, ponds, and remembered individuals with the magical associations that parents pass down to children. Although the body of lore changes from one century to another, it is clear that the community as a whole had and still has its own stories and that these stories are akin to those of their Indian neighbors in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The earliest known myth for this area is that of Cautantowwit, or Kytan, who sent the first corn and beans for people to eat and ruled over the souls of the deceased in an afterworld beyond the horizon toward the southwest. The crow, thought to have carried the first corn and beans to humans on earth, was one of many sacred creatures. This creator also fashioned the first man and woman, first of stone, which he disliked, and then of wood, to become the ancestors of all mankind (Simmons 1976: 219). At a later time in the creation, a giant culture-hero, known as Wetucks, or Maushop, presided over southern New England, including the area inhabited by the Pequot. This giant hunted large creatures such as bears on the land and whales in the sea before retiring after the arrival into his domain of the human ancestors of the local Native people. When European ships first entered southern New England waters, the Native people mistook them for the giant, Wetucks or Maushop, whom they believed had returned. Ezra Stiles recorded an eighteenth-century Eastern Pequot area legend of the giant's return: "the Tradition among the Indians was that the Giant 'was peaceable and would not hurt the little Indians' ...tho they said they always was afraid of him....He would knock the Bears off the trees with his fist or a Club.... When the Indians first saw Vessels passing in the Sound off against Paucatuck, they said at first it was Weetucks a coming again" (Stiles 1916: 83).

The arrival of Europeans and particularly the Pequot defeat by Mason's army at Mystic caused the Pequot to question the efficacy of their traditional deities and to fear those of the English. The Eastern Pequot sachem, Wequash Cook, for example, commented that the English God "was a most dreadful God; and tht one English man by the help of his God was able to slay and put to flight an hundred Indians" (Simmons 1990: 145-46). Yet, very few Pequot actually converted to Christianity until the 1740s, before which time they adhered to the authority of shamans and to ancestral beliefs despite their impressions of the greater power of the English God

(see Religious Aspects of the Post-Contact Period, above). One sachem from North Stonington, for example, told the local Indian minister, James Noyes, in 1693, that even though he acknowledged the greater healing power of the English God, that he could not convert, even if it meant his ruin (ibid. 146-49).

An early Stonington Pequot legend recalls the violent deaths of Pequots fleeing the aftermath of the Mystic fight. According to this legend, recorded in the late nineteenth century from a number of Eastern/Stonington Pequot sources, the distinctive bloody hearted rhododendrons that grow in Cuppacommock or Mast Swamp in Ledyard owe their peculiar coloring to the Pequot blood that was shed in that swamp when Indian refugees who attempted to hide there were caught and executed by English troops (ibid. 149-52).

The Eastern Pequot community has a substantial body of legendary lore in addition to the remarkable account of the bloody hearted rhododendrons. Most of this lore focuses on the ways in which the past reappears in the present in the form of ghosts, lights carried by ghosts, or in the case of the rhododendron legend, as ghostly reminders of past events. In one account recorded from an Eastern Pequot woman, Helen LeGault, in 1987, an elderly Pequot couple that had long since passed away continues to protect their grapevines from strangers who would pick their grapes (ibid. 162). A ghostly Indian couple, seen by many, is believed by some to travel in a canoe on Long Pond around midnight. Lanterns have been seen to glow at places on Lantern Hill where two Pequots are said to have committed suicide (ibid. 164-65). Mark Sebastian knows a story told by his father of two spirits or ghosts around Long Pond that appear in winter storms to fight to decide which will determine the length of winter. If the evil one wins, winter will be long. If the good one wins, it will be short (Simmons 1998). Both Marcia Flowers and Ashbow Sebastian have heard stories of ghost children crying on the reservation (ibid.). Mark Sebastian recounted a story of a man who was swimming across Long Pond and began to tire and sink beneath the water until he was rescued by a woman in a canoe who vanished as soon as she brought him to shore (ibid.). A four-year-old child on the reservation currently sees ghosts, because (it is speculated) spirits contact the most accessible people who are least likely to doubt their reality (ibid.).

Stories about the Devil are widespread in the Indian folklore of Southern New England, and the Eastern Pequots are no exception. Helen LeGault, for example, had heard a story in her youth of how the Devil would interrupt card games where the players were gambling for money. This story of the Devil visiting card games is known also to the Narragansett of Rhode Island and Wampanoag of Gay Head (Simmons 1986:156; 1990:168-169). A rock on the Eastern Pequot reservation, long since destroyed by construction, was said to have had an impression of the Devil's foot (Simmons 1987). A similar rock may still be seen to the rear of the church at Mohegan.

Helen LeGault had heard a legend of wooden people on the reservation that had some resemblance to the little people of Mohegan lore (Simmons 1990:169-70). Mark and Ashbow Sebastian had heard as children of a very large (5 by 6 feet across) turtle named Ojo that lives in Bushy Pond on the reservation that could pull children down if they swim away from shore (Simmons 1998). Ashbow Sebastian once walked through an old Indian cemetery on the reservation and didn't leave an offering, after which he caught poison ivy. Since he had never previously been affected by poison ivy, he attributed this minor misfortune as a kind of penalty for his negligence to the ancestors (ibid.).



Witchcraft stories are widespread in the Indian folklore of Southern New England, from Gay Head to Mohegan country, and again, the Eastern Pequot are no exception. In most cases such legends explain specific misfortunes to the ill will of someone nearby, who is believed to possess a distinctive power of forbidden knowledge. An Eastern Pequot story that I collected in 1987 most probably concerned Tamer Brushell and her daughter. In this story, an elderly Western Pequot woman, Jane Durfee, who often visited Tamer's house on the Lantern Hill reservation for tea and conversation, had seen some strange things such as dried frogs in Tamer's attic. When Jane Durfee asked about these she learned that they were used to practice witchery, and expressed disbelief in such practices. Tamer then assured her that the practices worked and made her foot lame as proof of her power. Jane Durfee then threatened Tamer who withdrew the spell. In this account, Tamer's knowledge is portrayed as West Indian in origin, not Pequot (Simmons 1987). According to Helen LeGault, Pequot medicine was mainly herbal and the practices of Tamer Brushell were of West Indian importation. A similar version of this story was recorded from LeGault in the hearing transcript of the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council (Connecticut Indian Affairs Council 1977: 63-73), although other Eastern Pequots disputed LeGault's accusations, testifying that such practices are entirely consistent with indigenous medical tradition. Witchcraft accusations often work to distance or peripheralize a friend, neighbor, or relative in a small face-to-face community, by making them appear as aliens or strangers within the community. Attributing West Indian and not New England Indian identity to Tamer's purported knowledge would be an example of such a strategy of peripheralization, and is consistent with the factional rhetoric aimed at denying her local Indian origins. To declare her a witch is a way to deny her Indian identity and to associate her with non-Indians in a way that follows the racial line of the factional dispute.

Marcia Flowers, a contemporary member of the Eastern Pequot who was born in Westerly and raised in Paucatuck, is a seer whose experience and knowledge contains many elements that are consistent with traditional Southern New England Indian ideas of health and illness. For example, she professes the ability to identify and expel malevolent spirits that may have been sent by powerful individuals to afflict other individuals, and can tell if a particular evil spirit has been sent to do someone harm. Flowers also has had contact with Indian spirit familiars including ancestor spirits that communicate with her in dreams. According to Flowers, her powers are not to be used to harm or frighten others. Flowers' grandmother told her that if you feel a spirit move by you, it means someone will die and usually that has proven to be the case. A quick shadow behind you also is a sign that someone will die, as is a group of crows sitting together. Flowers distinguishes between her powers as a seer and those of a person skilled in medicinal techniques of healing and witchcraft, and of women with the knowledge and ability to serve as midwives. She does, however, use sweetgrass to protect her house and keep harmful spirits away.

The use of herbs and wild plants for curing, documented among many Native peoples of New England (e.g. Russell 1982), is also continued by modern Pequots. Dr. Pat Sebastian presently employs homeopathy and herbology in her practice, and Eva Butler provided an extensive list of plants and their curative properties known to elderly native women of the region (Simmons 1990).



## Shared Linguistic Features

Even elderly eastern Pequots cannot recall any speakers of their ancestral language, although Fidelia Fielding, who was of both Pequot and Mohegan origin, and who died in 1904, was both fluent and literate in this language (Speck 1904, Prince and Speck 1904). Nevertheless, the linguistic “echoes” of this language remain in the use of local terms for common objects and sights such as the constellations “Big and Little Bear,” nicknames, and affectionate kin terms for elderly men and women (Bragdon 1998). In the 1970’s Donald Sebastian began to study and reconstruct the Pequot language, and taped readings and recitations of the Pequot language made by Sebastian and others were distributed to many tribal members.

Through cultural continuities, residence patterns, and reciprocal social networks, the Eastern Pequot people have maintained themselves as a distinctive community. Their reservation, established by the colony of Connecticut in 1683, has, on a continuous basis, been maintained, managed, and occupied by members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe. Moreover, the colony and state of Connecticut have, by statutes, policies, and through other governmental actions and activities, consistently and without qualification recognized and acknowledged the existence of both the Eastern Pequot reservation and the Eastern Pequot Tribe (see, generally, Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Conn. Gen. Stat., and Ch. 24, Conn. Stat.). Finally, a community of Eastern Pequot Indians has continued to function, interact, and sustain its sociocultural integrity from its origins before the establishment of the reservation in 1683, to the present day. It is important to note that at no time in the history of the Eastern Pequot Tribe has the colony or state of Connecticut taken steps to deny or terminate its existence.

## The Eastern Pequot Tribal Community: Petitions and Reports of the Overseers—1683 to 1940

The extensive record of the reports of the overseers, in addition to various other official accounts compiled by the colony and state of Connecticut, are strong evidence for the existence of the Eastern Pequot tribal community for the period 1683 to 1940.<sup>8</sup> Fifteen years after the establishment of its reservation, the tribe was placed under the protection of Governor John Winthrop (IP, I:48). From this date to the middle of the eighteenth century, the tribe filed a number of petitions, including a request in 1766 to have a new overseer appointed (IP, 2nd, II:22-22b; IP, II:40; IP, II:250; IP, II:251); other petitions were filed in 1788 and 1800 (IP, II:252; IP, 2nd, II:105) [see criterion (c)], all representing the deliberate political actions of the Eastern Pequot Tribe and its community.

Enumerations of tribal members living both on and off their North Stonington reservation do not appear in the overseer reports until 1823. Nonetheless, such lists were compiled periodically, often on an annual basis, until 1940. The enumerations of tribal members on petitions and in the overseer reports are summarized as follows (unless otherwise noted, see file: Overseer Reports):

## 28 September 1698

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Pequots of Stonington petition to be placed under the protection of Governor John Winthrop. Headmen named are Old Ephraim, Chegorup, Negonnood, Wecuntuk queneeg, Mishung, Mauquor itt, and Naquttungan. Others tribal members include Mashanshowett, Mat tapsq, Mamos agen, Coaz, Cunge amo'h, and Nonuk omaush. [IP, I:48]

## 9 May 1723

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Pequot Indians of Stonington petition that their "planting ground" be conferred to them and protected in accordance with the 1683 agreement establishing the reservation. There are more than 130 tribal members, of which twenty male children are said to be bound out. Signatories: Sunk Squaw [Mary Momoho], Ash-kah-soo-Duck, Quo-no-mo-suck, To-beso-ki-ant, Sam-Saw-was, Mo-as, Wee-yoah-hoye-zon, Ned, and Kindness. [IP, 2nd, II:22-22b]

## 23 May 1749

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Memorial of Samll Sawas, Simon Sokient, Jacob Sawwas, Sampson So=ke=ent, and Mary Mo=mo=hor, Pequot Indians of Stonington — that they are being molested on their lands by "sundry persons." [IP, II:40]

## 10 June 1766

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Memorial of the Indian inhabitants of the Town of Stonington to have a new overseer appointed. Signatories: John Quiumps, Abner Indian [crossed out], Amos Miller, Moses Quiumps, Simon Sauciunt, Jacob Sawus, Jonatha Nockey, Peter Pawkeeg, and Ben Simon. [IP, II:250]

## October 1766

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Petition of "Pequot Indians Living in Stonington" to replace their overseers. Petitioners: John Quiomps, Amos Miller, Moses Quiomps, Simon Sewcraients, Jacob Sawas, Jonathan Nehey, Peter Pawhege, and Bingn. Simon. [IP, II:251]

## 3 May 1788

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The "pequod Tribe in Stonington" petitions the Court for overseers. Signatories: Jacob Sowrs, John Quumps, James Neel, John Kindness, James Abner, Jere Shuntups, Willard Miller, Cyrus Shelly, Elizah Waggs, Lem Shelly, Mary Sower, Mary Quiumps, Eliz Shelly, Betty Tikins, Mary Abner,

Judy Moses, Tump Moses, Mary Honnabell, Eliz. Tikins, Mary Sowers, Josiah Sowers, Margt. Quiump, Hanb Paukeese, Lucy Tikens, Peter Peters, Grace Poll, Shell Sinament, Pigg Georj, Ame Tellken(?), and Hannah Shelly. [IP, II:252]

## **6 May 1800**

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Memorial of "the tribe of Indians living in the town of Stonington," protesting that "the Whole people At pleasure" turn their animals on the tribe's lands, that "Other tribes of Indians, With Negroes & Molattoes," have moved onto their lands, and that a number of the "Aged and helpless people in our tribe" are in need of food and water. Signed by Lathan Hull, "at the Request, & in behalf of said tribe." [IP, 2nd, II:105]

## **March 1823 - 1824 (date at end: 11 March 1824)**

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Thomas Wheeler, overseer. Indians listed: Sarah Pomper, Nancy Skesucks, Prudence Pawhague, Nabby Hue, James Nedson, Isaac Fagins, John Robinson, Jehannah[?] Shuntaup, Polly Johnson, Hannah Johnson, Betsey Tykins.

## **1824 (allowed, March 1825)**

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Thomas Wheeler, overseer. Indians listed: Nabby Hue, James Nedson, Isaac Fagins, Jehannah Shuntaup, Polly Johnson, Hannah Johnson, Betsey Tykins, Nancy Skesucks, Sarah Shon, Cyrus Shelly, Moses Brushill.

## **April 1827 - April 1829**

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On account with Henry Chesebrough. Indians listed: Nabby Hue, Isaac Fagins, Sarah Pomper, Tyre Ned, Nancy Skesucks, Anna Ned, Hannah Shelly, Cyrus Shelly, Jr., Johannah Shuntaup, Polly Shelly, Filena, Freelove Tykins, Saml. Tykins, Lemuel Shelly, Prude Pawkeag, Sarah Pompey, Betsey Tykins, Moses Brushel, James Abner, Elsa Ned, Esther Waugs, Nancy Pawkeag, Sally Lewis.

## **March 1829 - June 1831**

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On account with Silas Chesbough. Indians listed: Cyrus Shelly, Moses Brushel, Esther Waugs, Filena, Tyre Ned, Isaac Fagins, Hannah Shelly, Polly Shelly, Lucinda Brushel, Tamer Brushel, John Brushel, Rich.[?] Ned, Nancy Skesucks, Betsey Tykins.

## **June 1831 - June 1832**

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Silas Chesebrough, overseer. Indians listed: Sl. Shantaup, Polly Shelly, Isaac Fagins, Cyrus Shelly, Elsa Ned, Prude Pawheag, Richard Ned, Prude Fagins, Moses Brushel, Betsey Tykins, Nancy Pawheag, Lucy[?] Pompe[?], Tyre Ned.

## **June 1832 - November 1833**

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Silas Chesebrough, overseer. Indians listed: P. Fagins, Tyre Ned, Cyrus Shelly, Polly Shelly, Saml. Shantaup, Hannah Shelly, Betsey Tykins, Elsa Ned, Lucy Pomp., Isaac Fagins, Prude Fagins, Moses Brushels wife, Betsey Hill, Hannah Shelly, Peggy [Margaret] Fagins, Nancy Ned.

## **November 1833 - February 1834**

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Silas Chesebrough, overseer. Indians listed: Esther Waugs, Philena [Filene], Isaac Fagins.

## **June 1835 - June 1836**

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Ezra Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Hannah Shelly (and her children), Edward Nedson, Nancy Skesux, Prue Fagins, Tyra Nedson [Ned], Sam. Shelly, Thos. Nedsons children, Saml. Shuntaup, Richard Ned, Betsey Robbins, Elsey Nedson, Cyrus Shelly, Sarah Pompey.

## **June 1838 - June 1839**

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Ezra Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Pru [P.] Fagins, H. Shuntaup, Thos. Nedsons children, Ned Nedson, Lem Shelly, Philena, Ned Shelly, H. Shelly's children.

## **June 1839 - May 1840**

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Ezra Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Sarah Pompey, Moses Brushel, Thos. Nedson, Samuel Shuntaup, Edward Nedson's boy, Henry Shuntaup, Wealthy Nedson, Philena, N. Nedson.

## **June 1840 - May 1841**

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Ezra Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Eunice Wagges [also Wugis and Wagis] child, H. [Henry] Shuntaup, Philena, Wealth Nedson, Thos. Nedson, Samuel Shuntaup, Sarah Pompey.

## **27 January 1841**

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Petition of the "Pequot Tribe of Indian residents in North Stonington," to remove their overseer and replace him with another. Signatories: Samuel Shuntaup, Polly Shelly,

Sarah Pomp, Thomas Shelly, Clarry Shelly, Prudence Pauheag, Hannah Nedson, Lemuel Shelly, and Thomas Nedson. [see file: Petitions]

## **June 1841 - June 1842**

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Ezra Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Pru Pawhage, Wealth Nedsons children, Eunice Waggs child, Thos. Nedsons wife, Philena, Cyrus Shelly, Thos. Nedson, H. Shuntaup, Wealth Nedson, Martin Nedson, Saml. Shuntaup.

## **June 1842 - May 1843**

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Ezra Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Pru Pawhage, Philena, Thos. Nedsons children, Moses Brushel, Henry Shountaup, Thankful Nedson, Euni Wages child.

## **June 1843 - April 1844**

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Ezra Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Moses Brushel, Henry Shuntup, Philena, Cyrus Shelly, Eunice Wages child, S.[?] Shuntup.

**June 1845 - June 1846**

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Elias Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Polly Shelly, Philena, H. Shauntup, C. Shelly, J. Shauntup, Molly Gordner or Gorden[?].

**June 1846 - April 1847**

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Elias Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: H. Shuntup, Clarry Shelly, C. Shelly, Molly Gardner, Philena, Polly Nedson, Thos. Nedsons Daughter, Thankful Nedson, Thos. Nedsons wife.

**July 1847 - April 1848**

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Elias Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Molly Gardiner, H. Shuntup, Fagins girl, Philena, J. Shuntup, Thos. Nedsons daughter, Pol Nedson, Thos. Nedson, Thankful [Nedson] [notation: "Nedson killed in Ledyard"].

**June 1849 - April 1850**

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Elias Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: Pol Ned, H. Shuntaup, Ned, Ned girl, C. Shelly. "Sam Shuntaup has gone to Wisconsin." Rachel Hoxie "one of the tribes a girl about 16 years old . . . has had a child."

**June 1850 - June 1851**

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Elias Hewitt, overseer. Indians listed: H. Shuntaup, Pol Ned, Thos Ned daughter, Sam Shuntaup, C. Shelly.

**November 1851 - June 1852**

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Account with Isaac Miner. Indians listed: Samuel Shuntaup, Henry Shuntaup, Polly Nedson.

**July 1852 - June 1853**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Thomas Nedson, Polly Nedson, Samuel Shuntaup.

**June 1854 - June 1855**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Samuel Shuntaup, Murinda Duglas, Thomas Nedd, Leonard Brown, Eunice George, Baldwin L. Brown, Eunice Cotrell, Shuntaup Nedd and Leonard, Thankful Nedd.

**July 1855 - August 1856**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Samuel Shuntaup, Eunice Cotrell, Thankful Nedd, Samuel[?], Leonard, Thomas Nedson, Leonard Brown, Marinda Duglas.

**August 1856 - September 1857**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Samuel Shuntaup, Leonard Brown, Murinda Duglas, Eunice Cotrell, Thankful Nedd, Thomas Nedson.

## 9 September 1857

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"The following named persons are the present numbers of the Pequot Tribe in North Stonington, and are of said Tribe so far as I have been ascertaining & to the best of my knowledge."

Indians listed: Thankful Ned, Eunice Fagins, Abby Fagins & two children — Charity Fagins & Lucy Anne Fagins and five children[,] Marinda Ned, Rachel Skesux, Caroline Ned, Lucy Hill, Rachael Anderson & one child — Thomas Ned, Leonard Brown, Ezra Ned ["dead"], Calvin Ned, Joseph Fagins, Isaacs Kinness, George Hill, Andrew Hill.

Isaac Miner, overseer.

## September 1857 - August 1858 [incomplete]

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Samuel Shuntaup[?], Eunice Cotrell, Murinda Duglas, Thankful Ned, Ezra Ned, Leonard [?], Leonard Brown, Thos.[?] Ned.

"The Member, & names of the tribe are the same as last year except Ezra Ned who is dead —", signed Isaac Miner.

## August 1858 - July 1859

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Than Ned, Leonard Brown, Eunice Cotrell, Thomas Ned, Murinda Duglas, Thankful Ned.

## September 1859 - August 1860

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Th Ned, Mur Dug, Thomas Ned, E Cot, Murinda Dug.

1859: "Names of the Tribe so far as I can ascertain —"

Thankful Ned, Thomas Ned, Eunice Fagens, Lucy Fagens, Abby Fagens, Charity Fagens, Lucy Ann Fagens, Lorry Fagens, Marindu Duglus, Rachel Skesus, Carraline Ned, Lucy Hill, Rachel Andison, Leonard Brown, Calvin Ned, Joseph Fagens, James Kinness, George Hill, Andrew Hill, Lorry Watson wife [of] Albert Watson — 5 children[,] Rachel Ned Anderson - 1 child.

1860: "Names of the Tribe as near as I can ascertain."

Thankful Ned, Calvin Joseph Fagens, George Hill, James Kinness, Andrew Hill, Leonard Ned Brown, Isaac Ned, Eunice fa ["Fagens"] Cotrell, Marinda Duglas Ned, Rachel Skesus, Rachel Anderson Ned, Lorry Fagens 5 children, Apy Fagens 3 children, Lucy Hill, Carryline Ned.

## September 1860 - August 1861

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Th Ned, Eu Cot, Mur Ned.

1861: "Names of the Tribe as far as I can ascertain on Inquarry of North Stonington Pequot Tribe Indians."

Thankful Ned, Eunice Fagins, Lorry Fagins 4 ch, Abby J. Fagans, Charity Fagins - 5 - children, Lucy Ann Fagins, Lucy Fagins —, Murinda Ned “Dec,” Rachel Skeesix, Carrutin[?] Ned, Rachel Ned it, Lucy Hill, Thomas Ned “1861 Decest,” Leonard Brown, Ezra Ned “Dec,” Calvin Ned, Joseph Fagins, James Kiness, George Hill, Andrew Hill, Isaac Ned.

### **September 1861 - August 1862**

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1861: “Names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington according to my best nolege.”

George Hill, Leonard Brown, Calvin Ned, Joseph Fagins, James Kiness, Andrew Hill, Eunice F Cotrell, Marinda NDug, Lucy Fagins, Charity Fagins, Lorry Fagins 5 children, Lucy Hill, Abby J Jack 5 children, Rachel N orchard & children, Caroline Ned, Rachel Skeesux dec. “Coffin for Thankful Ned dec.”

### **September 1862 - September 1863**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: L. Brown, Mur Doug, MD, E C,.

1863: “Names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians in North Stonington as far as I can ascertain—”

George Hill, Calvin Ned, Joseph Fagans, James Kiness, Andrew Hill, Eunice Fagans or Cotrell, Lucy Fagins, Aby Jack or Fagans 4 children, Charity Fagins in Providence, Lucy An Fagans, dec[?] Lorry Watson or Fagans 4 children, Marinda Duglas or Ned, Rachel orchard or Ned and 2 children, Carriline Ned, Lucy Hill “all I Now no of”[.]

### **September 1863 - September 1864**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: E C, MrD, L B, MD, Leonard B.

### **September 1864 - August 1865**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Marinda Dug, Eunice Cotrell, Leonard Brown.

1865: “Names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington as far as I can ascertain.”

Eunice Fagans Cotrell, Lucy Fagans, Charity Fagans, dec[?] Lorry Fagins 5 children, Marinda Ned Duglas, Caroline Ned, Lucy Hill, Rachel orchard 4 children, Abby Fagans or Randall 5 children, Leonard Ned Brown, Calvin Ned, Joseph Fagans, James Kiness, George Hill, Andrew Hill.

### **September 1865 - December 1866**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Eunice Cot, Marinda Dug, Leonard Brown.

### **February 1866 - August 1867**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Eunice Cotrell, Murinda Dug, L Brown.

1866-67: "Names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of No Stonington so far as I can ascertain as overseer of said Tribe."

Eunice Ned or Cottrell, Lucy Fagans, Abby Randall or Fagans, Charity Fagans, Marinda Douglas or Nedd, Carriline Nedd, Rachel Ocharde or Ned and three children, Leonard Brown, Dec. Ezra Nedd, Calvin Nedd, Joseph Fagans, James Kiness, George Hill, Andrew Hill.

#### **November 1867 - April 1868**

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Isaac Miner, overseer. Indians listed: Ma Douglas, Eunice Cottrell, L. Brown.

1867-68: "Names of the Pequots Indians of North Stonington as far as I have ascertain."

Eunice Fagan or Cottrell, Aby Fa. [Fagans] Jack (5 children, Marinda Douglas or Ned, Lucy Hill Providence R.I., Rachel Jacson 5 children, Lorry Watson Dec Leave 5 children, Leonard Brown, Calvin Ned [illegible word, then "Fl"], Joseph Fagans, James Kiness, George Hill, Andrew Hill.

#### **June 1868 - March 1869**

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Leonard C. Williams, overseer. Indians listed: Amanda Douglas or Nedson, Eunice Fagins or Cottrell, and Leonard Brown or Nedson. George Hill "a Member of the Tribe." Edgar Watson "has had school book from . . ."

1868-69: Eunice Fagins or Cottrell, Abby John Jacks and 5 children, Amanda Douglass or Nedson, Lucy Hill in Providence (RI), Rachel Jackson and 5 children, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Calvin Ned or Nedson (West Florada), Joseph Fagins [ditto], James Kiness [ditto], George Hill [ditto], Andrew Hill [ditto], Laura Watson Deceased leaves 5 children.

#### **March 1869 - March 1870**

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Leonard C. Williams, overseer. Indians listed: Amanda Douglas or Nedson, Eunice Fagins or Cottrell, Leonard Brown or Nedson, James W. Watson, Sarah Jane Watson.

1869-70: "The names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington as far as I can ascertain are as follows, viz. —"

Eunice Fagins or Cottrell, Abby John Jack & 5 children, Amanda Douglass or Nedson, Lucy Hill (is in Providence, RI), Rachel Jackson & 5 children, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Calvin Ned or Nedson (in West Florada), Joseph Fagins [ditto], James Kiness [ditto], George Hill [ditto], Andrew Hill [ditto], Laura Watson (Deceased) leaves 5 children.

#### **April 1870 - April 1871**

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Leonard C. Williams, overseer. Indians listed: Leonard Brown or Nedson, Eunice Fagins or Cottrell, Amanda Douglas or Nedson, Rachel Jackson, Sarah Jane Watson.



1870-71: "The Names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington as far as I can ascertain are as follows, viz."

Eunice Fagins or Cottrell, Abby John Jack and 5 children, Amanda Douglass or Nedson, Lucy Hill in Providence R.I., Rachel Jackson & 5 children, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Calvin Ned or Nedson, Joseph Fagins, James Kineness, George Hill, Andrew Hill, Laura Watson (Deceased) leaves 5 children.

#### **April 1871 - April 1872**

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Leonard C. Williams, overseer. Indians listed: Eunice Cottrell or Fagins, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Amanda Douglass or Nedson, Rachael Jackson or Orchard.

1871-72: "The Names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington as far as I can ascertain are as follows, viz."

Eunice Fagins or Cottrell, Abby John Jack and 5 children, Amanda Douglass or Nedson, Lucy Hill (in Providence), Rachel Jackson & 5 or 6 children, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Calvin Ned or Nedson, Joseph Fagins, James Kineness, George Hill, Andrew Hill, Laura Watson (Deceased) leaves 5 children.

#### **May 1872 - April 1873**

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Leonard C. Williams, overseer. Indians listed: Amanda Douglass or Nedson, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Eunice Cottrell or Fagins, and George W. Hill "a member of the Tribe."

1872-73: "The Names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington as far as I can ascertain as follows, viz."

Eunice Cottrell or Fagins, Abby John Jack and children 5, Amanda Douglass or Nedson, Lucy Hill (in Providence) Rachel Jackson & 5 or 6 children, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Joseph Fagins, James Kineness, Geo. W. Hill, Adrew Hill, Laura Watson (Dec) leaves 5 children.

#### **26 June 1873**

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Petition of members of the "Pequot tribe of Indians of North Stonington, objecting to the sale of lands and requesting that their overseer be removed and another appointed in his place. Signatories: Calvin Williams, Amanda Williams, e. Cottrell, M. Jackson, Fanny", Irean ", Phebe ", Lucy ", Wm. h ", Jan M J, Leanerd B, [three names illegible], Jane M. Watson, and Sarah J. Watson. [see file: Petitions]

#### **27 June 1873**

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"A list of names belonging to the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington [Superior Court Records, New London County (State Library, Hartford)].

Francis [?.] Watson, Mary C. Watson, Edgar Ross, Mary A. Potter, Harriet Merriman, Jesse L. Potter, Amman Potter, Wm. Merriman, John Brushel, Calvin Nedson, Lucy

E[?] Williams, Harriet [?.] Williams, Wm. Williams, Emily Brushel, Hannah Brushel, Joseph Nedson, Caroline Nedson, Fanny Sherley, Lucy George, Lucy A. George, Harriet Simon, [illegible] Gardner, Marlboro Gardner, Dwight Gardner, Martin Nedson, Lucy Hill, Thomas S. Skesux, [illegible] Skesux, John Randall, Charity Fagins.

"These are the names and their is others may the Lord have Mercy and healp us and give for Jesus Sake."

#### **April 1873 to April 1874**

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Leonard C. Williams, overseer. Indians listed: Eunice Cottrell or Fagins, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Amanda Douglas or Nedson, Rachel Jackson, George W. Hill "a members of said Tribe."

1874: "The names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington as far as I can ascertain as follows, viz."

Eunice Cottrell or Fagins, Abby John Jack & 5 children, Amanda Douglass or Nedson, Lucy Hill in Providence, Rachel Jackson & 5 or 6 children, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Calvin Ned or Nedson, Joseph Fagins, James Kineness, George W. Hill, Andrew Hill, Laura Watson Deceased leaves 5 children.

#### **31 March 1874**

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Petition of the "Pequot tribe of Indians of North Stonington," protesting the sale of their lands and requesting that their overseer be removed and another appointed in his place. Signatories: Calvin Williams, Amanda Williams, Mercy Williams, Eunice Cottrel, Leannard Brownne, Abby Randall, Florance Randall, Ellice Randall, John Randall, Jr., Jesse L. Williams, Sophia Williams, Elisabeth E. Williams, Harriet E. Williams, William L. Williams, James M. Watson, Augustus E. Watson, Sarah(?) Watson, Francis O. Watson, Mary A. Potter, Wily Jackson, Emily Ross, Permic(?) Jackson, Rachel Jackson, Faneos(?) Jackson, Molbrow Gardna, Isaac Tracy, Fannie Jackson, Ireine(?) Jackson, Phebe Jackson, and Lucy Jackson. [see file: Petitions]

#### **April 1874 - April 1875**

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Leonard C. Williams, overseer. Indians listed: Eunice Cottrell or Fagins, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Rachel Jackson, Amanda Douglass or Williams.

1874-75 "The names of the Pequot Tribe of Indians of North Stonington as far as I can ascertain are as follows, viz."

Eunice Cottrell or Fagins, Abby John Jack & 5 children, Amanda Douglass or Williams, Lucy Hill in Providence, Rachel Jackson & 5 or 6 children, Leonard Brown or Nedson, Calvin Ned or Nedson, Joseph Fagins, James Kineness, George W. Hill, Andrew Hill, Laura Watson (Deceased) leaves 5 children.

## April 1878 to April 1879

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Charles P. Chipman, overseer. Indians listed: Eunice Cottrell, Leonard Nedson, Amanda Williams, Lucy Hill, Mary E. Watson Sebastian.

## 1881

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Charles P. Chipman, overseer. Indians listed: Amanda Williams, Eunice Cottrell, Leonard Nedson, Lucy Hill, Eliza Sebastian.

## 3 December 1883

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Petition of the "Pequot Tribe of Indians in the Town of North Stonington," report that their overseer has died, and request that another be appointed in his place. Signatories: Eunice Cottrel, Calvin Williams, Molbro Garner, Mrs. Rachel Jackson, Phebe Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Irene Jackson, Lucy(?) Jackson, William Jackson, Jennie P. Jackson, Mrs. Abby Randall, Mrs. Amanda Williams, Mrs. Mary E. Bastian, Wm. A. Bastian, Ella J. Bastian, Edgar Watson, Amon Potter, Harriet Potter, Ned Williams, and Francis Watson. [see file: Petitions]

## 1889 - 1890

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Gilbert Billings, overseer.

"Members of Tribe": Abby Randall, John J. Randall, Alexander Randall, Flora Randall, Lucy Hill, Francis Watson, Mary Watson, Edgar Watson, [Munroe] Watson, Molbro Gardiner, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jenny Jackson, Lucy Jackson, William Jackson, Fanny Jackson, Ed Jackson, Grace Jackson, Maria Simons, Mary Simons, Herman Simons, Lucy A. Sawant, Rachel Simons, Dwight Gardiner, Calvin Williams, Tamer Sebastian.

## 1890 - 1891

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Gilbert Billings, overseer.

"Members of Tribe": Abby Randall, John J. Randall, Alexander Randall, Flora Randall, Lucy Hill, Francis Watson, Mary Watson, Edgar Watson, Monroe Watson, Molbro Gardiner, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jenny Jackson, Lucy Jackson, William Jackson, Fanny Jackson, Ed Jackson, Maria Simons, Mary Simons, Herman Simons, Lucy A. Sawant, Russel Simons, Dwight Gardiner, Calvin Williams, Jesse Williams, Tamer Sebastian, Leonard Nedson, Mary Ann Potter.

## 1910 - 1911 [crossed out]

## 1911 - 1912 [written in]

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Calvin Williams, Mrs. Fannie Sebastian.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeannie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Calvin Williams, Jesse Williams,

Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Fanny Sebastian, Sarah Swan. [Calvin Williams and Fanny Sebastian the oldest members of the tribe. Fanny is a member of Mr. Williams family.]

#### 1911 - 1912

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Calvin Williams, Mrs. Fannie Sebastian, Phebe Sebastian and family, William Jackson family, Sarah Swan, William Jackson.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeamie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Calvin Williams, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Fanny Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phoebe Spellman. [Calvin Williams and Fanny Sebastian are the oldest members of the tribe. Mrs. Phoebe Spellman is a widow with ten children, all minors, and has moved to the reservation during the year.]

#### 1912 - 1913

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Calvin Williams, Mrs. Fannie Sebastian, Phebe Spellman and family, William Jackson, Sadie Swan.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeamie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, ~~Calvin Williams~~, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Fanny Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman. [Notations: Calvin William is ill. Mrs. Sebastian is the oldest tribal member. Phebe Spellman, a widow with nine children, moved to the reservation about a year ago.]

#### 1913 - 1914

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. Fannie Sebastian [Notation: Mrs. Calvin Williams's mother], Phebe Spellman and family, Calvin Williams.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeamie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Fanny Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman. [Notations: Fannie Sebastian the oldest member, lives with her daughter Mrs. Calvin Williams. Mr. Calvin Williams is dead.]

#### 1914 - 1915

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Mrs. Calvin Williams and family, Phebe Spellman and family, William Jackson and family, Wm. Jackson, Mrs. Williams.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeamie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Will-

iams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, ~~Tamer Sebastian~~ Clarence Sebastian [handwritten in place of "Tamer Sebastian"], Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman.

**1914 [crossed out] -**

**1915 - 1916 [written in]**

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Mrs. Calvin Williams and family, Phebe Spellman and family, William Jackson and family, burial of a child of Clarence Sebastian.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeannie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Clarence Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman. [Notations: Mrs. Spellman works in New Haven. All but one of her children are self-supporting. Alice Barbara Spellman is the youngest of her children lives on the reservation. Clarence Sebastian is a member of the tribe.]

**1915 [crossed out] -**

**1916 - 1917 [written in]**

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Mrs. Calvin Williams and family, Phebe Spellman and family, William Jackson and family, Reginald Spellman, Alice P. Spellman.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeannie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Clarence Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman.

**1916 [crossed out] -**

**1917 - 1918 [written in]**

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Mrs. Calvin Williams and family, Phebe Spellman and family, William Jackson and family, Reginald Spellman, Alice B. Spellman.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeannie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Clarence Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman.

**1917 [crossed out] -**

**1918 - 1919 [written in]**

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Mrs. Calvin Williams and family, William Jackson and family, Mrs. Spellman, Sadie Holland, Phebe Spellman, Paul Spellman.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd. Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Jeannie Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Clarence Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman, Mrs. Calvin Williams.

**1918 [crossed out] -**  
**1919 - 1920 [written in]**

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. William Jackson and family, Mrs. Spellman, Mrs. Calvin Williams's grandchildren,<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Williams.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd. Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, ~~Jeanie Jackson~~, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Clarence Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman, Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. Rachael Silver.

**1919 [crossed out] -**  
**1920 - 1921 [written in]**

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: William Jackson and family, Rachael Spellman, Clarence Sebastian.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd. Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Clarence Sebastian, Sarah Swan, Phebe Spellman, Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. Rachael Silver.

**1920 [crossed out] -**  
**1921 - 1922 [written in]**

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Spellman family, Rachael Silva [Silver], Clarence Sebastian, Williams, William Jackson.

Tribal members: John Randall, Alexd. Randall, Phebe Jackson, Irene Jackson, Lucy Jackson, Wm. Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Ed. Jackson, Maria Simmons, Mary Simmons, Herman Simmons, Russel Simmons, Dwight Goodhere, Jesse Williams, Mary Watson, Grace Gardner, Clarence Sebastian, Sarah Swan, ~~Phebe Spellman~~, Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. Rachael Silver.

**1921 [crossed out] -**  
**1922 - 1923 [written in]**

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Silver children, Spellman children, Jackson family, children of Wm. Jackson, Mrs. Phebe Spellman dies and leaves two minor children [Paul and Lucy Spellman]. "Paul is in a respectable family at Providence, R.I., and Lucy will shortly be committed to the New London County Home." Mrs. Spellman's daughter, Mrs. Rachael Silver, "has recently been committed to the Norwich State Hospital." Mrs. Rachael Silver has three children: 6, 3, and 2 1/2 months. Her husband lived in New Haven "some years ago," and cannot be located.

## 1928 - 1929

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Charles L. Stewart, overseer. Indians listed: Lucy Spellman, William Jackson family, Mrs. Calvin Williams.

Tribal members: Mrs. Irene Jackson Brown Prov RI, James Earl D. Williams son of above, Grace Gardner son of Wm. Jackson on reservation, ~~Mrs. Fanny Jackson~~ (Vquorn [?]) died in 1927, Mrs. Arline Estelle Berry, William H. Jackson on reservation No Stonington, Mrs. Fanny Jackson Mrs Wright, Grace M. Jackson daughter, Edna A. Jackson [ditto], Arlene F. Jackson [ditto], Olive F. Jackson [ditto], Rachel Jackson [ditto], Ernest M. Jackson son, Harold C. Jackson [ditto], Mary E. Davis Providence, Abigail E. Davis, Herman E. Simons Stonington, Elam Baker young Elam Stonington, Mary Simons New London, Russell Simons [ditto?], ~~Mrs. Phebe Jackson Spellman~~ (dead) April [?] 1922, Mrs. Gertrude M. Spellman Daily (sister is bldg. house no children), Reginald Spellman [&] Lucy Spellman [&] Mrs. Rachel Silver [&] Barbara A. Spellman [&] Paul L. Spellman [&] Mrs. Ruth G.S.

~~Taliaparo~~ Peckham ["all brothers and sisters?"], girl Texel ~~Spollem~~ Silver [illegible] m. in 1929 son of Mrs. Rachel Silver is Philip [illegible], daughter is (?) Esther Silver 10 yrs old in NY State, Atwood I. Williams (Chief Silver Star) Prov, Frank L. Williams [&] Atwood I. Williams, Jr. [&] Jennie M. Williams [Notation: sons and daughters of above, i.e., Atwood I. Williams].<sup>10</sup>

## 1930

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Gilbert S. Raymond, overseer. Indians listed: Lucy H. Spellman, William H. Jackson family, Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. Peter Harris [Notation: "Called on Jackson & Mrs. Peter Harris on Reservation Oct. 19/30"], Mrs. Wm. Gardner, Franklin Williams.

Tribal members: William H. Jackson Lives on Reservation, Mrs. Wm. H. Jackson (Fannie) [ditto], Grace M. Jackson New York City, Edna A. Jackson Lives on Reservation, Arlene F. Jackson [ditto], Mrs. Olive F. Jackson Spellman (Mrs. Reginald) [ditto], Ernest M. Jackson [ditto], Harold C. Jackson [ditto], Lolita Esther Spellman (Daughter of Mrs. Reginald) [ditto], Donald Wm. Spellman (son of Mrs. Reginald) [ditto], Mrs. Irene Jackson Brown Providence, R.I., James Earl Williams (son of Mrs. Brown) [ditto], Grace Gardner Lives on Reservation, Mrs. Arline Estelle Berry Newark, N.J., Mrs. Calvin Williams (Lina) Lives on Reservation, Sadie Holland (daughter of Mrs. C. Williams) [ditto], Mrs. ~~Susie~~ Sylvia Sebastian Stedman, Mrs. Gertrude M. Spellman Daly, Reginald Spellman, Mrs. Rachel Spellman Silver Providence, R.I., Texel Spellman Silver (daughter of Rachel), Philip Spellman Silver (son of Rachel), Esther Silver (daughter of Rachel), Barbara A. Spellman Providence R.I., Paul L. Spellman [ditto], Mrs. Ruth G. Spellman Peckham Charlestown, R.I., Atwood I. Williams (Chief Silver Star) Providence R.I., Atwood I. Williams, Jr. [ditto], Frank L. Williams [ditto], Jennie M. Williams [ditto], Herman E. Simons Stonington, Conn., Elain Baker [ditto], Mary E. Davis, Abigail E. Davis, Mary Simons New London, Conn., Russell Simons [ditto], Clarence Sebastian Mystic, Conn. [Notation: "This man has has 10 children."], Catherine C. Harris [Nota-

tion: maiden name was Sebastian, wife of Peter Harris Norwich, Conn. has a house on shore of Long Pond], Albert E. Carpenter her son Norwich, Catherine Carpenter Lewis her daughter [ditto].

### 1931

Gilbert S. Raymond, overseer. Indians listed: Mrs. Sarah[?] Williams, Mrs. Olive J. Spellman, Harold Jackson, Calvin Williams, Mrs. Williams, Lucy Spellman, [Notation: houses on reservation occupied by]: William M. Jackson and family, Mrs. Calvin (Lina) Williams, Spellman, Mrs. Wm. Gardner (on shore of Long Pond), Mrs. Peter Harris [ditto], Franklin Williams [ditto].

Tribal members: "Rachel Jackson" [appears in the margin next to] "William M. Jackson" [then] "Lives on the Reservation RFD Mystic, Conn.", Grace M. Jackson [ditto], Edna A. Jackson [ditto], Arline F. Jackson [ditto], Mrs. Olive F. Jackson Spellman (Mrs. Reginald) [ditto], Ernest M. Jackson [ditto], Harold C. Jackson [ditto], Lolita Esther Spellman [ditto], Donald William Spellman [ditto], Mrs. Irene Jackson Brown Providence, R.I., James Earl Williams (son of Mrs. Jackson) [ditto], Grace Gardner (Mrs. Williams) Lives on the Reservation, Mrs. Arline Estelle Berry [?] N.J., Mrs. Calvin (Lina) Williams Lives on the Reservation, Mrs. Sadie Holland [ditto], Mrs. Sylvia Sebastian Stedman Mystic, Mrs. Gertrude Spellman Daly [illegible], Reginald Spellman, Mrs. Rachel Spellman Silver Providence, R.I., Texel Spellman Silver (Daughter of Rachel), Philip Spellman Silver (son of Rachel), Esther Silver (Daughter of Rachel), Barbara A. Spellman Providence, R.I., Paul Spellman [ditto], Lucy M. Spellman [institutionalized], Ruth G. Spellman Peckham Westerly, R.I., Atwood I. Williams Chief Silver Star [ditto], Atwood I. Williams, Jr., Frank L. Williams Running Elk [ditto], Jennie M. Williams George Stonington son, daughter of above, Herman E. Simmons Stonington, Mary M. Davis Providence, R.I., Abigail F. Davis [ditto], Mary Simons New London, Conn., Russell Simons [ditto], Clarence Sebastian RFD Mystic, Conn. ["This man has ten children."], Mrs. Peter Harris (Catherine Sebastian) Norwich, Conn., Albert F. Carpenter [ditto], Mrs. Catherine Carpenter Lewis [ditto], Franklin Williams RFD Mystic, Conn.

12 members of the tribe live on the reservation.

### 1932

Gilbert S. Raymond, overseer. Indians listed: Lucy Spellman, William H. Jackson, Olive Jackson Spellman, Mrs. Ephraim (Sarah) Williams, Mrs. Calvin (Lina) Williams.

"The ten children of Clarence Sebastian and Henrietta Williams Sebastian, grandchildren of Ephraim Williams, deceased, are members of this [the Ledyard Tribe of Pequot Indians] Tribe."

### 1933

Gilbert S. Raymond, overseer. Indians listed: Mrs. Sarah Williams ["funeral expenses"], Mrs. W.H. Jackson ["funeral expenses"], Mrs. Calvin Williams. Houses on the reservation are occupied by: William H. Jackson, Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. William (Grace)



Boss, Paul Spellman, Mrs. Peter Harris, Franklin Williams, Mrs. Grace LeGault ["not a tribal member"].

Tribal members: X William H. Jackson (On the Reservation, RFD Mystic, Conn.), Grace M. Jackson Gardner Boss [ditto], Edna A. Jackson [ditto], Arline F. Jackson [ditto], Ernest M. Jackson [ditto], Harold C. Jackson [ditto], Mrs. Olive J. Spellman (Mrs. Reginald Spellman) [ditto], Rachel Jackson, Lolita Esther Spellman, Donald William Spellman (Last two are children of Mrs. Reginald) [ditto], Grace M. Jackson (On the Reservation), Mrs. Calvin (Lina) Williams [ditto], Mrs. Sadie Holland [ditto], Mrs. Irene Jackson Brown Providence, R.I., James Earl Williams (Son of Mrs. B.) [ditto], Mrs. Arlene Estelle Berry Newark, N.J., Mrs. Sylvia Sebastian Stedman Mystic, Ct., Mrs. Gertrude Spellman Daly [state hospital] Howard, R.I., Reginald Spellman (Address unknown), Mrs. Rachel Spellman Silver Providence, R.I., Texel Spellman Silver, Esther Silver, Barbara A. Spellman Silver, Philip Spellman Silver (Lives with Uncle Paul on the Reservation), Paul Spellman (On the Reservation) RFD Mystic, Conn., Lucy H. Spellman Hartford, Conn., Ruth G. Spellman Peckham Westerly, R.I., Atwood I. Williams (Chief Silver Star) [ditto], Atwood I. Williams, Jr. [ditto], Frank L. Williams [ditto], Jennie M. Williams George Stonington, Conn. [&] Hermon E. Simons [ditto] [have two children, Myra and Mildred], Mary E. Davis Providence, R.I., Abigail E. Davis [ditto], Mary Simons New London, Conn., Russell E. Simons [ditto], Clarence Sebastian (This man has ten children) RFD Mystic, Conn., X Mrs. Peter Harris (Catherine Sebastian) on the Reservation [was in Norwich], Albert E. Carpenter Norwich, Conn., Catherine Carpenter Lewis [ditto], Franklin Williams (On the Reservation) RFD Mystic, Conn.

Mrs. Ephraim (Sarah) Williams of Mystic, and Mrs. William H. Jackson of the Reservation have died. Seventeen tribal members living on the Reservation.

## 1934

Gilbert S. Raymond, overseer. Indians listed: Lolita Esther Shellman [read Spellman], Wm. H. Jackson, Mrs. Calvin Williams, Paul Spellman. Houses on reservation occupied by: William H. Jackson, Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. Williams (Grace Gardner) Boss, Paul Spellman, Mrs. Peter Harris, Franklin Williams, Mrs. Grace Legault.

Tribal members: William H. Jackson (on the reservation), Grace Jackson Gardner Boss [ditto], Edna A. Jackson [ditto], Arline F. Jackson [ditto], Ernest M. Jackson [ditto], Harold G. Jackson [ditto], Mrs. Olive J. Spellman (Mrs. Reginald Spellman) [ditto], Lolita Esther Spellman [ditto], Grace M. Jackson [ditto], Mrs. Calvin Williams [ditto], Mrs. Sadie Holland [ditto], Mrs. Irene Jackson Brown Providence, R.I., James Earl Williams (son of last) [ditto], Mrs. Arline Estelle Berry Newark, N.J., Mrs. Sylvia Sebastian Steadman Mystic, Conn., Mrs. Gertrude Spellman Daley [state hospital] Howard, R.I., Reginald Spellman (address unknown), Mrs. Rachel Spellman Silver Providence, R.I., Texel Spellman Silver [ditto], Esther Silver [ditto], Barbara A. Spellman Silver [ditto], Philip Spellman Silver, Paul Spellman (on the reservation), Lucy H. Spellman (address unknown), Ruth G. Spellman Peckham Westerly, R.I., Atwood I. Williams (Chief Silver Star) [ditto], Atwood I. Williams, Jr. [ditto], Frank L. Williams [ditto], Jennie M. Will-

iams George Stonington, Conn. & 2 children, Hermon E. Simons [ditto], Mary E. Davis Providence, R.I., Abigail E. Davis [ditto], Mary Simons New London, Conn., Russell E. Simons [ditto], Clarence Sebastian RFD Mystic (This man has ten children), Mrs. Peter Harris (Catherine Sebastian) Lives on the Reservation RFD Mystic, Conn., Albert E. Carpenter Norwich, Conn., Catherine E. Carpenter Lewis [ditto], Franklin Williams RFD Mystic, Conn.

Donald William Spellman died. Fourteen tribal members live on the reservation.

The ten children of Clarence Sebastian and Henrietta Williams Sebastian, deceased, claim membership in the Ledyard tribe.

### 1935

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Gilbert S. Raymond, overseer. Indians listed: Wm. Jackson and family, Mrs. Peter Harris (Katie Sebastian), Mrs. Calvin Williams (Tamer Emiline) Dau of Tam[?]. Houses on the reservation occupied by: William H. Jackson, Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. William (Grace) Boss, Paul Spellman, Mrs. Peter Harris, Franklin Williams, Mrs. Grace LeGault.

Tribal members: Wm. H. Jackson On the Reservation, Grace Jackson Gardner Boss [ditto], Edna A. Jackson [ditto], Arline F. Jackson Crumb (married)[ditto], Ernest M. Jackson [ditto], Harold C. Jackson [ditto], Rachel Jackson [ditto], Mrs. Olive J. Spellman [ditto], Lolita Esther Spellman [ditto], Grace M. Jackson [ditto], Mrs. Calvin Williams [ditto], Mrs. Sadie Holland [ditto], Mrs. Irene Jackson Brown Providence, R.I., James Earl Williams married one child by 1st wife, ~~Mrs. Arlene Estelle Berry~~ died in 193(?), Mrs. Sylvia Sebastian Stedman Mystic, Conn., Mrs. Gertrude Spellman Daly [state hospital], Reginald Spellman (address unknown), Mrs. Rachel Spellman Silver Providence, R.I., Texel Spellman Silver [ditto], Esther Silver [ditto], Barbara A. Spellman Silver [ditto], Philip Spellman Silver (address unknown), Paul Spellman On the reservation, Lucy H. Spellman Hartford, Conn., Ruth G. Spellman Peckham Westerly, R.I., Atwood I. Williams (Chief Silver Star) [ditto], Atwood I. Williams, Jr. [ditto], Frank L. Williams [ditto], Jennie M. Williams George Stonington, Conn., Myra George (child) [ditto], Mildred George (child) [ditto], Hermon E. Simons [ditto], Mary E. Davis [ditto], Abigail E. Davis [ditto], Mary Simons New London, Conn., Russell E. Simons [ditto], Clarence Sebastians (This last named has ten children) RFD Mystic, Conn., Mrs. Peter Harris (Catherine Sebastian) Lives on the reservation, Albert E. Carpenter Norwich, Conn., Catherine Carpenter Lewis [ditto], Franklin Williams Lives on the reservation.

16 persons live on the reservation.

### 1936

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Report of State Park and Forest Commission. Lantern Hill Reservation. 13 resident Indians: Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. Sarah Holland, William H. Jackson, Edna A. Jackson, Grace Jackson Grandy, Olive Jackson Spellman, Arlene F. Jackson, Rachael Jackson Crumb, Paul Spellman, Franklin Williams, Helen LeGault, Mrs. Grace G. Boss, Mrs. Catherine Harris.

1940

State Park and Forest Commission. North Stonington Reservation. Residents: Mrs. Calvin Williams, Mrs. Sarah Holland, William H. Jackson, Edna H. Jackson, Arlene Jackson, Mrs. Olive Spellman, Paul Spellman, Franklin Williams, Mrs. Helen LeGault, Mrs. Grace Boss, Mrs. Catherine Harris.

This listing of tribal members, as compiled by the overseers and as they appear in petitions, clearly demonstrates the existence and interconnectedness of the Eastern Pequot community through time. Expressed in these lists are extensive and persistent kinship networks that link individuals and families of the tribe, which in turn constitute strong evidence of descent and continuity from the historically known Eastern Pequot Tribe (see the Eastern Pequot Tribe genealogies, Appendix F).<sup>11</sup>

The overseer reports also provide insight into the dynamics of the Eastern Pequot community. For example, in 1849-50, Samuel Shuntaup is said to have "gone to Wisconsin," a journey that other tribal members are known to have undertaken both before and after his departure. In the 1860s members of the Nedson, Hill, Fagin, and Kineness families moved to Florida, possibly seeking work, although they returned to the community a short time later. The overseer report for 1911-1912 indicates that Mrs. Phoebe [Jackson] Spellman, who had been born on the reservation and whose husband had died several months earlier, had returned to live there with her minor children. In fact, the record demonstrates that it was not uncommon for tribal members who were born or who had grown up on the reservation to move off for a period of years to work, marry, and to raise families. Moreover, many who left returned years later, where they found a place to live and a community to assist and support them in their resettlement.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the ability of tribal members to move freely to and from the reservation is strong evidence for a viable and functioning Eastern Pequot community, that is, the presence, persistence, and strong association of Eastern Pequot families and kin groups residing both on and off the reservation.

Additional support for the integrity and constancy of the Eastern Pequot community is the analysis, presented below, of the individuals who appear not only on the overseer lists, but also on petitions filed by the tribe from 1698 to 1883. The Eastern Pequot Tribe has attempted to identify and locate each of the individuals on these lists, focusing especially on the names that appear during the period from about 1700 to the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The balance of the tribe's membership, enumerated in overseer reports from the late nineteenth century to 1940, is traceable to the 1870, 1900, and 1910 federal censuses.

Names in bold print are those found on petitions and overseer lists. Please refer to the file, "Individuals — Petitions and Overseer Reports," for the supporting documentation, excluding census data, used in this analysis:

#### **ABNER FAMILY**

**ABNER** "Indian," b. c. 1716-1717. He was living at Mushantuxet, Groton, CT, in 1762 [age 45]. His name appears on the tribe's 1766 petition to the General Assembly.

**JAMES ABNER SR.** The name of "James Abner" appears on petitions and the overseer lists from 1788-1829. James does not appear in the 1790, 1800, 1810, 1820, or 1830 CT censuses.

Children:

1. **RANDALL ABNER** Moved to Brothertown [Love 1899:335].

**JAMES ABNER JR.** b. c. 1798; d. October 1828, age 30 [North Stonington Church Rcds.]; m. Mary Ann (—). The name of "James Abner" appears on petitions and the overseer lists from 1788-1829.

Children:

1. **RANDALL J. ABNER** b. c. 1822, d. in Norwich, August 1885; m. Charlotte Emeline (Robinson), b. in N. Stonington, 11 March 1821, and d. in Norwich, 28 January 1904. She was the daughter of Charles and Charlotte (Perry) Robinson. Her mother was a native of Kingston, RI.

**MARY ABNER** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly. She was the wife of James Abener, Sr.

## **ANDERSON [a.k.a. Hoxie]**

**RACHEL ANDERSON** [a.k.a. Ned, Jackson, Orchard] Her name appears on the overseer lists as Rachel Anderson from 1857-1864; Rachel Jackson 1867-1871; Rachel Orchard 1872-1875. Henry Jackson/Orchard's wife was Rachel [see Henry Jackson or Henry Orchard].

## **ANDREW**

**ISAAC ANDREW** b. c. 1849 in CT; age 21 - "Indian" - 1870 census - N. Stonington. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873. Isaac does not appear in the 1880 or 1900 censuses in CT.

## **BAKER**

**GEORGE L. BAKER** b. in North Stonington c. 1836; age 33 - 1870 census; age 43 - 1880 census - Stonington. While residing in Preston, CT, m. Phebe Ann Fagins in N. Stonington, 30 May 1870.

She was b. in CT, c. 1843; age 37 - 1880 census. George's name appears on the overseer list in 1873. George's parents are listed as b. in CT [1880 census].

Children born in CT:

1. **MARY D. BAKER** b. c. 1875; age 5 - 1880 census; m. Irving A. Congdon [see Congdon Family].
2. **GEORGE S. BAKER** b. c. 1877; age 3 - 1880 census; age 33 - 1910 census - Stonington; d. 1923. He is buried in the Hillard Cemetery, N. Stonington; m. Mar-

garet (—), b. in CT, c. 1866; age 44 - 1910 census. George is listed as a "full" Pequot Indian on the 1910 Indian Population census for Stonington; his wife Margaret is listed as Irish/English; his son as 1/2 Indian, 1/2 white.

Children:

- a. GEORGE W. BAKER b. c. 1906; age 4 - 1910 census.
3. **ELAM A. BAKER** b. c. 1880; age 3 mos. - 1880 census. He appears on the overseer lists in 1928, 1930, as both Elam (1928) and Elian (1930).

## **BERRY**

**ARLINE ESTELLE (—) BERRY** Arline's name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935. Arline does not appear on the 1920 census for CT. She is the daughter of William and Fanny Jackson.

## **BOSWICK**

**CHARLES BOSWICK** Charles's name appears on the overseer list in 1873. Listed in the 1870 census, Indians of North Stonington, age 11. He does not appear on the 1880 census for CT.

## **BOSS**

**GRACE M. (JACKSON) GARDNER BOSS** m. William Boss. Grace's name appears on the overseer lists from 1933-1940. Grace and William Charles do not appear on the 1920 census for CT.

## **BROWN**

**BALDWIN L. BROWN** His name appears on the overseer list in 1854. He does not appear on the 1860 or 1880 censuses in CT.

**IRENE (JACKSON) BROWN** Her name appears on the overseer lists as Irene Jackson from 1889-1925, and Irene Jackson Brown 1929-1935; m. Mr. Brown c. 1926-29.

**LEONARD BROWN** [a.k.a. Ned Brown, Leonard Nedson], b. c. 1818 in CT; age 62 - 1880 census - N. Stonington, "Indian." Leonard was a widower at the time of the 1880 census. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1854-1891; and specifically as Leonard Nedson 1878-1891. Leonard, age 80, was living in N. Stonington at the time of the 1900 census and is listed on the Indian Population schedule.

## **BRUSHEL / BRUSHILL<sup>13</sup>**

**EMILY BRUSHEL** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873.

**HANNAH BRUSHEL** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873; a.k.a. Hannah Shelly, Moses Brushel's wife.

**LUCINDA BRUSHEL** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1829; d. 1830 per 1830 overseer report.

**MOSES BRUSHILL** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1824-1844.

Children:

1. **TAMER BRUSHEL** [a.k.a. Tamer Sebastian] Her name appears on the overseer lists in 1829, and from 1889-1891. She was a resident of Stonington in 1848 when she married there, 3 December 1848, to Manuel Bastane of Groton, CT [see Sebastian Family]; a.k.a. Fannie Sebastian.
2. **JOHN BRUSHEL** His name appears on the overseer lists in 1829 and 1873.

## **CARPENTER**

**ALBERT CARPENTER** b. in Rhode Island c. 1882, age 21 at the time of his marriage (1903). He married in N. Stonington, 23 September 1903, to **CATHERINE "KATIE" C. (SEBASTIAN)**. She was b. in Stonington c. 1886, age 19 at time of her marriage (1903); age 24 - 1910 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1935; m. (2) **PETER HARRIS**. When they were married in 1903, Albert and Catherine were both listed as "Indian." Albert divorced Catherine between 1907-1910. Catherine was the daughter of Franscico Sebastian and Mary [see Sebastian Family].

Children b. in N. Stonington:

1. **ALBERT E. CARPENTER** b. c. 1906; age 4 - 1910 census. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1935.
2. **CATHERINE EVELYN CARPENTER** b. 27 December 1907. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1935 as Catherine Carpenter Lewis; m. Mr. Lewis.

## **COLVIN [misspelling of COTTRELL]**

**GEORGE COLVIN [COTTRELL]** b. c. 1809 CT; age 61, "Indian" - 1870 census; m. **EUNICE (FAGINS) COLVIN [COTTRELL]**, b. c. 1809 CT; age 61, "Indian" - 1870 census. They both appear on the overseer list in 1873. George and Eunice do not appear on the 1880 census - CT.

## **CONGDON**

**GEORGE W. CONGDON** b. in CT, February 1821 [1900 census]. George was a blacksmith, 1870 census; m. c. 1840 **CATHERINE (—) CONGDON**, b. in Griswold, CT, May 1823; age 48, "Indian" - 1870 census; d. of malaria in N. Stonington, 18 July 1905, no age. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873. George was listed as age 49 - 1870 census; age 79, b. in CT, mother and father b. in CT [1900 census]. Catherine was age 48, "Indian" - 1870 census; age 77, b. in Rhode Island, mother and father b. in CT [1900 census]. They are listed as having been married sixty years with four children living out of

eight. In 1880 George has a daughter-in-law named Lizzie, age 33, and two granddaughters living in his household - Margaret age 5, and Bessie, age 1.

Children: b. in CT unless noted; all of his children are listed as "Indian" on the 1870 census:

1. **GEORGE W. CONGDON** b. in Griswold c. 1847; age 19 - 1870 census; age 33 - 1880 census; d. in N. Stonington 24 August 1898, age 49 years and 11 mos., "Indian," single, occupation: barber. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873.
2. **LAWREN L. LORIN CONGDON** b. c. 1852; age 18 - 1870 census; age 32 - 1880 census. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873.
3. **FRANKLIN CONGDON** b. c. 1853; age 17 - 1870 census; age 29 - 1880 census. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873.
4. **ANNA CONGDON** b. c. 1856; age 14 - 1870 census. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873.
5. **OSMER CONGDON** b. in RI, December 1863. Osmer was age 5 - 1870 census; age 37, blacksmith - 1900 census; widower, age 58 - 1920 census. He is listed as Artemus E. Congdon in 1880, age 16. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873.
6. **IRVING A. CONGDON** b. in RI, January 1865. Irving was age 4 - 1870 census; age 14 - 1880 census; a day laborer; widowed by the time of the 1900 census, age 35; age 54 - 1920 census; m. Mary A. Baker, b. c. 1874, d. 1 February 1894, age 19. She is buried in the Hillard Cemetery, N. Stonington. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873. In 1920 he is a 54 year old widower living in N. Stonington, working as a laborer in a furniture store. He is residing with Elizabeth Simmons (house keeper) and his brother Osmer.

Child b. in N. Stonington:

- a. **BEATRICE CONGDON** b. 15 January 1894, d. 1 November 1896, age 2 yrs. 9 mos. 17 days. She is buried in the Hillard Cemetery in N. Stonington.
7. **SUSANE CONGDON** b. c. 1867; age 1, "Indian" - 1870 census; age 13 "white" - 1880 census.

**LEE CONGDON** This name appears on the overseer list in 1873.

## **CRUMB**

**RACHEL (JACKSON) CRUMB** m. a Mr. Crumb. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1935 as Rachel Jackson Crumb.

## **DALY**

**GERTRUDE M. (SPELLMAN) DALY** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935; m. Mr. Daly.

## DAVIS

**ABIGAIL E. DAVIS** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1934.

**MARY E. (SIMONS) DAVIS** m. William Davis. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935 [see Simons Family].

## DOUGLAS / DUGLAS

**CHARLES L. DOUGLASS** Formerly of Volutown; m. **MARINDA NED**, 1 October 1843. She appears on the overseer lists as **MURINDA DUGLAS** [a.k.a Murinda Ned and Amanda Nedson] from 1854-1868, and **AMANDA (—) DOUGLAS** from 1868-1874, and 1878-1881.

## FAGIN / FAGAN / FAGEN / FAGINS / PHAGINS

**ABBY J. FAGINS** [a.k.a Abby Jack/Jacks/Randall], b. c. 1823; age 27 - 1850 census - N. Stonington. Her name appears as Abby Fagins/Jack/Randall 1864-67; Abby John Jacks 1868-1875; Abby Rand 1889-1891. Abby is living with the family of Mary Hewitt in 1850; m. John Randall in N. Stonington, 27 November 1851.

**CHARITY FAGINS** d. 1864 or 1865. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1857-1863, and again from 1866-1867, and 1873.

**EUNICE FAGINS** [a.k.a. Eunice Ned/Cottrell], b. c. 1771; m. George Cottrell in Ledyard, CT, 7 February 1851. He was previously married to Rhoda Suncimon, 16 December 1844. Eunice's name appears on the overseer lists as Eunice Fagins Cottrell from 1854-1866; Eunice Ned or Cottrell from 1866-1868; Eunice Fagins or Cottrell from 1868-1879; and Eunice Cottrell in 1881; Eunice Colvin on the 1870 census.

**ISAAC FAGINS** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1834. Isaac is the first Fagins name to appear on the overseer reports.

**JOSEPH FAGINS** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1857-1868; in Florida 1868-1870; returns in 1870-1875.

**LAURA "LORRY" FAGENS** m. Albert Watson of Charlestown, RI, in N. Stonington, 30 November 1843.

**LUCY ANN FAGINS** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1864-1867.

**MARGARET "PEGGY" FAGINS** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1832.

**PRUDE[NCE] FAGINS** [a.k.a. Prue]. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1831-1839.

## GARDNER / GARDINER

**DWIGHT GARDNER** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1873-1891. Dwight does not appear on the 1880 census - CT.



**GRACE GARDNER** [a.k.a. Grace Williams] Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1911-1930, and as Grace Williams from 1931-1934.

**HELEN (EDWARDS) LEGAULT** Appears on the 1936 and 1940 overseer reports [see LeGault].

**HENRY "HARRY" GARDNER** Narragansett Indian; son of Stephen. He was b. in N. Stonington c. 1786; d. 15 February 1856, age 59; m. Sarah (—). Henry was listed in N. Stonington in 1840 with 3 males under 10; 2 males 10 to 24; 1 male 50 to 60; 3 females under 10; 1 female 55 to 100.

Children:

1. **MARLBORO GARDNER** b. in N. Stonington c. 1838; d. of a hemorrhage in N. Stonington, 15 May 1893, age 55. Marlboro was age 27 in the 1860 census of Stonington, and age 42, "Indian," in the 1880 census North Stonington. In 1860 "Marlbory" is a "day laborer" residing in the home of Eliza Rozalia. He appears on the overseer lists from 1873-1891. He was a Civil War veteran [Report of Commission on Narragansett Indians 1881, p. 31, see also 71, 81]. Marlboro states he is 42, the son of Harry Gardner, a Narragansett Indian of Charlestown, RI; m. Eunice A. (Wheeler), b. in North Stonington, c. 1838. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1854; d. in N. Stonington 29 August 1912, age 76 yrs. 11 mos, widow; Eunice is listed in the household of Leonard Brown at the time of the 1900 census in N. Stonington, Indian Population Schedule. Marlboro and Eunice are buried in the Great Plain Cemetery in N. Stonington.

Children listed as "Indian" and b. in N. Stonington:

- a. **EMMA ESTELLA GARDNER** b. 26 June 1879; m. William Palmer Edwards "white," in N. Stonington, 25 April 1896. He was b. in Westerly, RI, June, 1871. Emma is listed as "part Indian" at the time of the birth of her son Calvin in 1916, and is listed on her marriage record as "Black Indian." They are residing in N. Stonington at the time of the 1920 census.

Children b. in N. Stonington:

1. Hazel Elsie Edwards b. 16 December 1896; m. Calvin Oscan Geer, who is listed as "white." Hazel is listed as "part Indian" (1916).

Children:

- a. Calvin Vivian Geer b. 5 October 1916.
- b. Angeline Way Geer b. 26 March 1918.
- c. Ruth Elsie Smith b. 5 July 1919.
2. Raymond H. Edwards b. 22 November 1899.
3. William McKinley Edwards b. 8 September 1901, alive in 1920.
4. (Child, no sex mentioned) b. 20 February 1906; d. before 1910.

5. Helen Dorothy Edwards b. 12 February 1908, alive in 1920.
  6. Bertha Arlene Edwards b. 17 March 1911, alive in 1920.
  7. Byron Albertus Edwards b. 29 December 1913, alive in 1920.
- b. GEORGE W. GARDNER b. c. 1868; age 12 - 1880 census.
  - c. EDDIE C. GARDNER b. c. 1874; age 6 - 1880 census.
  - d. AGNES EUNICE GARDNER b. 16 June 1875; age 5 - 1880 census; m. Clark White, b. in CT, November, 1857. On the 1880 census she is listed as Eunice A. Gardner.

Children b. in N. Stonington:

1. (Son) b. 18 January 1899.
- e. WILLIAM A. GARDNER b. c. 1877; age 3 - 1880 census; age 42 - 1920 census; m. GRACE E. JACKSON, N. Stonington, 23 November 1898. She was b. in N. Stonington c. 1880 "Indian," age 18 in 1898. She appears as **MRS. WILLIAM GARDNER** on the overseer lists from 1930-1931. The 1910 census for N. Stonington notes that William and Grace had no children; William was 39, and Grace 34. The census also notes that William was 1/2 Indian, 1/4 white and 1/4 black; Grace was 1/4 Indian, 1/4 white, 1/2 black.
2. HARRIET A. GARDNER b. c. 1832; age 28 - 1860 census of Stonington; m. Russel J. Simons in Stonington, 19 May 1850 [see Simons].

**MOLLY GARDINER** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1845-1848.

## GEORGE

**EUNICE (WHEELER) GEORGE (GARDNER)** b. in North Stonington, c. 1838. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1854; m. (1) Amos George, 11 April 1852; m. (2) Marlboro Albert Gardner, 24 September 1865, in North Stonington. She had a son, Cyrus, b. 1857, by Austin George.

**JENNIE M. (WILLIAMS) GEORGE** Her name appears on the overseer lists as Jennie M. Williams from 1928-1930; and as Jennie M. George from 1931-1934; m. John George, son of Cyrus and Martha George.

**LUCY A. (FAGINS) GEORGE** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873; m. Peter George, who m. Lucy Fagins in Groton, CT, 2 May 1832.

**MILDRED SIMONS GEORGE** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1933-1935.

**MYRA SIMONS GEORGE** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1933-1935.

**PIGG GEORGE** This name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## GOODHERE

**DWIGHT GOODHERE** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1911-1922. Dwight does not appear in the 1900 or 1920 censuses.

## GRAY

**ISAAC GRAY** His name appears on the overseer list in 1873.

Issac does not appear in the CT 1880 census.

## HARRIS

**PETER HARRIS** m. **CATHERINE C. "KATIE" (SEBASTIAN) HARRIS**. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1935.

## HILL

**NATHAN HILL** b. c. 1770; d. November 1840, age 70. Son of \_\_\_ & Prudence (—). He purchased land in North Stonington in 1813. Nathan is listed in the 1830 census of N. Stonington with (1) male under 10; (1) male 10 to 24, (1) male 24 to 36; (1) male 55 to 100; (1) female 10 to 24; (1) female 36 to 55. Nathan is also listed in printed format [Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, p. 6].

### Children:

1. **ANDREW HILL** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1857-1868; he is in Florida 1868-1870; returns in 1870-1875. Andrew does not appear in the CT 1880 census.
2. **LUCY HILL** b. in CT, c. 1816; age 64, "Indian" - 1880 census; d. in North Stonington, 29 December 1900; m. Peter Reynolds, 12 June 1853; d. before 1880. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1857-1891. At the time of the 1900 census Lucy, age 80, was listed as Pequot, as are both of her parents.
3. **GEORGE W. HILL** b. ca 1817; age 51, "Indian" - 1870 census, N. Stonington; d. unmarried from consumption in N. Stonington, 27 December 1889, age 72. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1857-1867; he is in Florida 1868-1870; returns in 1870-1875. George, age 38, is residing with Charles Hewitt in N. Stonington in 1850 [1850 census]. He is residing with Samuel L. Main a farmer in N. Stonington in 1860 [1860 census]; he does not appear in the CT 1880 census.

**BETSEY (HILL) BRUSHILL** Although no supporting documentation has been located, Betsey is probably a daughter of Nathan Hill.

## HOLLAND

**VINCENT S. S. HOLLAND** b. in Pennsylvania c. 1861; age 59 - 1920 census - N. Stonington; m. **SARAH "SADIE" SWAN HOLLAND**. She was b. in CT, c. 1886; age

34 - 1920 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists as SARAH "SADIE" SWAN from 1911-1922, and SARAH "SADIE" HOLLAND from 1918-1940. She and Vincent were residing with her mother in North Stonington in 1920.

## HONNABELL

**MARY HONNABELL** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## HOXIE / HOXSIE

**RACHEL HOXIE** b. c. 1823. She was 16 years old when her name appears on the 1849 overseer list; m. Henry Jackson [see Jackson].

**JOHN NOYES HOXIE** b. in N. Stonington, CT, May 1830; age 70 - 1900 census. He was age 72, "Indian," when he m. Charity Johnson, age 65, "Indian," in N. Stonington, CT, 17 September 1901; in 1900 census Noyes is listed as a Narragansett: his father is Narragansett and his mother is Pequot. He is listed as the "uncle" to William Henry Jackson, therefore he is Rachel Hoxie's brother; m. (1) Jane Wheeler (Grant); (2) Mary Frances McKinney, 20 June 1893; (3) Charity Lawrence [Narragansett].

## HUE

**NABBY HUE** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1829.

## JACKSON / ORCHARD

**HENRY JACKSON** b. c. 1825/1830; age 45, "Indian" - 1870 census, N. Stonington; age 50 - 1880 census - N. Stonington; d. at Stonington, 2 May 1898; m. **RACHEL HOXIE** [a.k.a. Anderson, Ned, Jackson], b. in Charlestown, RI, c. 1836; age 44 - 1880 census; d. at N. Stonington, 17 September 1884, age 48 [N. Stonington VRcds.]. Her name appears on the overseer lists as Rachel Anderson from 1857-1854; Rachel Jackson 1867-1871; and Rachel Orchard 1872-1875. Parents are residing in Stonington in 1880 as ORCHARD. Rachel was 16 years old when she appears on the 1849 overseer list; she appears again from 1861-1875. Henry appears on the overseer list in 1873.

Children b. in CT and living in North Stonington at the time of the 1870 and 1880 censuses:

1. **ISAAC JACKSON** b. c. 1849/59; age 11/21, "Indian" - 1870 census. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873.
2. **FANNIE JACKSON** b. c. 1862; age 8, "Indian" - 1870 census; age 17 - 1880 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1873-1922.
3. **IDA I. JACKSON** b. c. 1863; age 17 - 1880 census. This may be Irene Jackson who appears on the overseer list [see below].

4. **JENNY JACKSON** b. c. 1864; age 6, "Indian" - 1870 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1873-1891.
5. **PHEBE E. JACKSON** b. 3 September 1865 [N. Stonington VRcds.]; age 4, "Indian" - 1870 census; age 15 - 1880 census [a.k.a. Phebe Jackson Spellman]; d. in 1922; m. George R. Spellman. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1922. Phebe's son, by Isaac Williams [non-Indian] was Atwood Isaac Williams, b. 1881.
6. **LUCY A./LYDIA JACKSON** b. 17 January 1867; age 2, "Indian" - 1870 census; age 12 - 1880 census. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873 as Lydia, and as Lucy from 1889-1922. Lucy is age 42 - 1910 census - Stonington. Lucy is listed as a "full" Pequot Indian on the 1910 Indian Population Schedule for Stonington. Her name appears on the overseer lists in 1889-1922. Lucy does not appear on the 1900 or 1920 census.
7. **WILLIAM H[ENRY] JACKSON** b. in CT, November, 1869 [1900 census]; m. **FANNIE AMELIA (THORNTON) ROBERTS JACKSON** in N. Stonington, 21 June 1898; she was b. in New York, March 1873, and was residing in New York City at the time of her marriage. She apparently m. first a Mr. Roberts. Her name appears on the overseer list as Henry in 1873. His name appears on the overseer lists as William 1889-1922; and as William H. 1928-1940. He is living in North Stonington, CT, in 1900. The N. Stonington 1900 census lists William as a "half breed", his mother a Pequot b. in CT, and his father from unknown tribe b. in Rhode Island; Fannie is listed as Pequot, her mother is Pequot b. in CT, and her father from an unknown tribe b. in Rhode Island. William and family are residing at the time of the 1910 census in N. Stonington. At the time of the census William and Fannie are listed as having nine children with five living. This census states that Fannie was married twice. William was a carpenter in 1900. He is listed as William H. Orchard; age 10 - 1880 census.

Children b. in N. Stonington:

- a. **EDNA A. JACKSON** b. c. 1903; age 7 - 1910 census; age 17 - 1920 census.
- b. **GRACE M. JACKSON** b. 20 March 1904. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935. Grace, age 6 - 1910 census. Not listed in the 1920 census.
- c. **OLIVE LOUISE JACKSON** b. 21 July 1906; age 4 - 1910 census; age 13 - 1920 census [see Reginald S. SPELLMAN]
- d. **WILLIAM HUBERT JACKSON** b. 17 September 1907. Not listed on the 1910 or 1920 censuses.
- e. **ARLENE F[RANCES] JACKSON** b. 20 January 1909. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1940. She is listed as Frances Arlene Jackson at her birth. She is listed as Arlene H. Jackson, age 10 - 1920 census.

- f. **RACHEL ISADORE JACKSON** b. 16 October 1910; age 9 - 1920 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935; m. Mr. Crumb.
  - g. **EDNA A[LBERTA] JACKSON** b. 30 July 1912. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1940. Not listed in the 1920 census.
  - h. **ERNEST M[ERTON] JACKSON** b. 6 September 1913; age 6 - 1920 census. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935. b. on the "Indian Reservation."
  - i. **HAROLD C[UTLER] JACKSON** b. 15 April 1915. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935. b. on the "Indian Reservation."
8. **JENNIE JACKSON** b. c. 1872; age 8 - 1880 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1911-1920.
  9. **JAMES ED[WIN/EDWARD] JACKSON** b. in CT, 1874; age 6 - 1880 census. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1922. In 1900 he is living in North Stonington with his brother William [above]. Edward was listed as a "half breed," his mother is Pequot and his father is unknown [1900 census].
  10. **GRACE E./M. JACKSON** b. c. 1879; age 1 - 1880 census. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1889.
  11. **IRENE JACKSON** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1925; m. Mr. Brown [?] c. 1926-29. Sister to Arlene Jackson Berry; parents were William and Fanny Jackson.

## JOHNSON

**HANNAH JOHNSON** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1824.

**POLLY JOHNSON** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1824.

## KINDNESS / KINENESS / KINNESS

**ISAACS KINNESS** His name appears on the overseer list in 1857.

**JAMES KINNESS** [a.k.a. James Kineness] His name appears on the overseer lists from 1859-1868; however he lived in Florida in 1868-1870; and returned 1870-1875.

**JOHN KINDNESS** His name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

Children:

- a. [?] Thomas Moved to Brothertown, N.Y. in 1815 [Love 1899:351].

## LEGAULT

**HELEN (EDWARDS) LEGAULT** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1936-1940.

## LEWIS

**CATHERINE (CARPENTER) LEWIS** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1935 [see Catherine (Sebastian) Carpenter].

**SALLY LEWIS** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1827. This is probably the same person as Sarah Lewis.

## MERRIMAN

**HARRIET MERRIMAN** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873. Harriet does not appear in the 1880 census - CT.

**WILLIAM MERRIMAN** His name appears on the overseer list in 1873. William does not appear in the 1880 census - CT.

## MILLER

**AMOS MILLER** His name appears on the tribe's 1766 petition to the General Assembly.

**WILLARD MILLER** His name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## MOSES

**JUDY MOSES** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**TUMP MOSES** This name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## NED / NEDSON

**ANNA NED** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1827.

**CALVIN NED** [a.k.a. Calvin Nedson] His name appears on the overseer lists from 1857-1867; he lived in Florida 1868-1870; returns 1870-1875.

**CAROLINE NED** [Caraline Nedd] Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1857-1873.

**EDWARD NEDSON** His name appears on the overseer list in 1835.

Edward Nedson death notice, *Hartford Courant*, 21 August 1847.

Children:

a. "Edward Nedson's boy," appears on the overseer list in 1839.

**ELSA NEDSON** [a.k.a. Elsa Ned]. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1827-1836.

**EZRA NED** [1] b. in N. Stonington c. 1820; d. in N. Stonington, 15 April 1858, age 30. Ezra appears on the overseer lists of 1857 and 1858.

**EZRA NED** [2] He appears on the overseer lists in 1861, and from 1866-1867.

**HANNAH NEDSON** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1841; m. Jedediah Randall, 31 August 1846, by Rev. Levi Walker [North Stonington VRcds., vol. 1, p. 239 (Barbour Collection)].

**ISAAC NED** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1860-1861. This is Rachel Hoxie's son.

**JAMES NEDSON** d. c. 1826; m. **TYRA NED** [a.k.a. Tyra Ned, Tyra Apes] in Stonington, 1 April 1787. James appears on the overseer lists in 1820, and from 1823-24; Tyra is listed from 1827-1836. James's estate was probated 4 April 1826 [Stonington District Court # 2292, containing (1) bonds, (1) inventory, (1) account of administration, (1) receipt].

Children:

- a. Thomas b. c. 1800, d. in N. Stonington, 18 Jan. 1860; m. Mary Shelley.

**JOSEPH NEDSON** His name appears on the overseer list 1873.

**LEONARD NEDSON** [a.k.a. Ned Brown, Leonard Brown, Leonard Nedson]

His name appears on the overseer lists from 1854-1891, and specifically as Leonard Nedson from 1878-1891 [see Leonard Brown].

**MARINDA NED** m. Charles L. Douglass, formerly of Volutown, 1 October 1843, by Lathan Hull, Justice of the Peace of North Stonington. She appears on the overseer lists as **MURINDA DUGLAS** [a.k.a. Murinda Ned] from 1854-1868.

**MARTIN NEDSON** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1841-1873.

**NANCY NED** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1832.

**NED NEDSON** His name appears on the overseer lists in 1832 and from 1838-1840.

**POLLY NED** [a.k.a. Polly Nedson]. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1846-1853.

**RACHEL NED** [a.k.a. Anderson, Jackson, Orchard] Her name appears on the overseer lists as Rachel Anderson from 1857-1864; Rachel Jackson from 1867-1871; and Rachel Orchard from 1872-1875.

**RICH[ARD] NED** b. c. 1785. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1829-1836; m. **WEALTH[Y] NEDSON**. She appears on the overseer lists from 1839-1842. Their family appears simply as "children" in the 1841 overseer list.

**THANKFUL NEDSON** b. in Stonington c. 1787; d. in N. Stonington, 1 February 1862, age 75; widowed. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1842-1861.

**THOMAS NEDSON** b. in N. Stonington c. 1800; d. 18 January 1860, age 60; m. **MARY SHELLEY**. Thomas appears on the overseer list from 1835-1860[?]; and Mary is listed as "wife" 1841-1847.

Children are listed as "children..." in the 1835-1843 overseer lists:

- a. "a daughter," 1846-1851 overseer lists.



## NEEL

**JAMES NEEL** His name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## NEHEY

**JONATHAN NEHEY** His name appears on the tribe's 1766 petition to the General Assembly.

## ORCHARD [see JACKSON]

## PAWKEAG / PAWHEAUGE / PAWEG / PAWHEAG / PAWHEAGE / PAUKEESE

**HANB[ (?)AL] PAUKEESE** This name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**NANCY PAWKEAG** Her name appears on the overseer list 1827.

**PETER PAWHEGE** He name appears on the tribe's 1766 petition to the General Assembly.

**PRUDENCE PAUHEGE** b. c. 1740-1785 [1840 census]. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1843. She is listed as "Prudy Pauheag" in the 1840 census in N. Stonington with (1) male 55 to 100, (1) female 55 to 100; m. Moses Quiumps in N. Stonington, 17 April 1764 [see Quiumps Family].

## PECKHAM

**RUTH G. (SPELLMAN) PECKHAM** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935. Daughter of George Spellman and Phebe Jackson.

## PETERS

**PETER PETERS** His name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## POLL

**GRACE POLL** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## POMP / POMPER / POMPE / POMPEY

**LUCY POMPE** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1831-1833.

**SARAH POMPER** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1841.

## POTTER

**MARY ANN (WILLIAMS) POTTER** b. in CT, c. 1813; age 47 - 1860 census - Stonington. She is living with her brother Charles H. Williams and his family in Stonington.

Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1873-1891. She is listed on the 1850 census as "Anna," age 36.

Children:

1. **AMMAN POTTER** [a.k.a. Amond, Ammon] b. in CT, May, 1848; age 12 - 1860 census - Stonington; age 20 - 1870 census - Stonington; age 28 - 1880 census - Norwich; age 52 - 1900 census - Ledyard. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873. He is living with Mary and Jesse Potter [see below]; m. (1) Harriet [Williams?], she was b. in CT, c. 1860; age 20 - 1880 census; also within their household is a "sister-in-law" Elizabeth Williams, age 24; m. (2) c. 1894 Eliza N. Wiles [1900 census]. She was b. in CT, March, 1850. Her parents were Jabez Wiles and Lucretia (Fagins) George, b. in CT. They had no children. Ammon was married to Eliza's sister. The family of Ephraim Williams in Ledyard is listed before Ammon in the census schedule of Indians. Ephraim Williams, Jr., is the son of Jane Anne Wiles. Ammon is listed as "Indian" in 1900. He was a Civil War Veteran.

Children:

- a. **EPHRAIM[?] POTTER** b. c. 1866; age 4 - 1870 census; not listed in 1880.
- b. **MARY H. "MARIA" POTTER** b. c. 1869; age 1 - 1870 census; age 11 - 1880 census.
- c. **BERTY F. POTTER** b. c. 1879; age 7 mos. - 1880 census.

**JESSE L. POTTER** b. in CT, c. 1844; age 16 - 1860 census - Stonington. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873. He is living with his sister Mary [see above] at the time of the 1860 census.

### QUIMPS / QUIUMPS / QUAQUIUMPS

**JOHN QUIUMPS** His name appears on the tribe's 1766 and 1788 petitions to the General Assembly; m. (1) Margaret Moses in Preston, 19 April 1742 [Preston Second Church Records]; m. (2) Joanna Shon in North Stonington, 17 February 1752 [N. Stonington VRcds.]. She was a listed as a pauper from 1801-1807; d. in N. Stonington 4 January 1808.

Children:

- a. **JOHN QUIUMPS** Baptized 23 May 1742 [Preston Second Church Records].
- b. **MARGARET QUIUMPS** Baptized 23 May 1742 [Preston Second Church Records]. Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.
- c. **ROSANNA QUIUMPS** Baptized 23 May 1742 [Preston Second Church Records].

**MARY QUIUMPS** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**MOSES QUIOMPS** d. 18 November 1775; m. **PRUDENCE PAUHEGE**, b. c. 1740-1785 [1840 census] in North Stonington, 17 April 1764 [N. Stonington VRcds.]. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1843. She is listed as "Prudy Pauheag" in the 1840 census in N. Stonington with (1) male 55 to 100, (1) female 55 to 100. Moses's name appears on the tribe's 1766 petition to the General Assembly; d. 18 November 1775.

## RANDALL

**JOHN J[ACK]. RANDALL** b. in N. Stonington c. 1822; d. in N. Stonington, 26 March 1877, age 55; m. (1) Lucinda (—); m. (2) **ABBY J. FAGINS/Phagins** [a.k.a Abby Jack/Jacks/Randall] in N. Stonington, 27 November 1851. Her name appears as Abby Fagins/Jack/Randall 1864-67; Abby John Jacks 1868-1875; Abby Rand 1889-1891. She was b. in N. Stonington March 1823; d. in N. Stonington 23 October 1902, age 79 yrs. 11 mos. Residing in North Stonington at the time of the 1880 census. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1873-1877. Abby is listed as a laundress in the 1900 census - N. Stonington with her son John. Both of Abby's parents are listed as b. in CT.

Children b. in North Stonington:

1. **JOHN J. RANDALL** b. in N. Stonington August 1852; m. Mary E. McKinney Sebastian, Francisco Sebastian's wife, in N. Stonington, 10 December 1903. She was b. in CT, c. 1854; age 67 - 1920 census. At the time of her child's birth in 1903, she is listed as "Indian." The Mary Eliza Sebastian who appears on the overseer lists from 1877-1922, is Mary Eliza Watson Sebastian. John is age 58 on the 1910 census of N. Stonington.

Children by Francisco Sebastian [1910 census of N. Stonington]:

- a. Catherine Randall m. (1) Albert Carpenter, (2) Peter Harris.
  - b. Charles Randall b. c. 1898; age 12 - 1910 census.
  - c. Benjamin Randall b. c. 1901; age 9 - 1910 census.
2. **JOSEPH R. RANDALL** (twin to John J.) b. in N. Stonington c. 1852; d. in N. Stonington 2 December 1870, age 17.
  3. (Daughter) b. 5 December 1853.
  4. **FLORENCE N. FLORA RANDALL** b. 7 April 1858; d. in N. Stonington 24 January 1895, age 38. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1891. Unnamed at birth, age 2 - 1860 census.
  5. **ALEXANDER H. RANDALL** b. in CT, April 1859 CT; age 21 - 1880 census, listed as "Indian"; m. Eudora S. (—), b. in Virginia, April, 1866. In 1900 they are residing at 19 Tredway Avenue, Norwich [1900 census]. Residing in North Stonington [1880 census]. Alexander's name appears on the overseer list 1889-1918.

Children b. in CT and listed on the 1900 census:

- a. **CAROLINE B. RANDALL** b. May, 1890.

- b. FREDERICK A. RANDALL b. October, 1894.
6. (Daughter) b. 1 May 1861. Parents: John age 36, Abby age 34; d. 3 May 1861; age 2 days.

## ROBBINS

**BETSEY ROBBINS** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1835.

## ROBINSON

**JOHN ROBINSON** His name appears on the overseer list in 1823.

## ROSS

**EDGAR ROSS** His name appears on the overseer list in 1873, and in the 1850 and 1860 censuses.

## SAWANT

**LUCY A. SAWANT** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1891.

## SEBASTIAN

**ELIZA SEBASTIAN** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1881.

**FANNIE SEBASTIAN** This is Tamer Sebastian. She appears as Fannie on the overseer lists from 1911-1914.

**EMMANUEL BASTIAN/SEBASTIAN** b. Cape Verde Islands, or possibly in Brazil, South America, c. 1815 [1900 census]; age 34 - 1850 census; age 70 - 1880 census - Stonington; d. 16 July 1904, age 93 [Union Baptist Church Records]. He was residing in Groton when he m. **TAMER BRUSHEL** [a.k.a. Tamer Sebastian] in Stonington, 3 December 1848. She was b. in Stonington c. 1823; age 53 - 1880 census; age 87 - 1910 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists in 1829, and from 1889-1891; m. Manuel Bastane of Groton, CT, in Stonington, 3 December 1848. They are residing in Groton, CT, in 1850 where Emmanuel is listed as a 34 year old laborer b. in South America, his wife Tamer is simply noted as "F" for female, age 25, and his eldest son Moses M. is listed as Emmanuel. In Groton the 1870 census lists Manuel, age 53, b. in Brazil; Tamer, age 45, b. in CT; Solomon, age 12; Albert, age 10; Sylvia, age 8; Lina, age 6; Sarah E., age 2. They are also living in Groton in 1880, and reside in the household after their son-in-law Henry Wilson. In 1910 Tamer is a widow living in N. Stonington with her son-in-law Calvin Williams. Tamer is listed as being the mother of twelve children, five of whom were still living in 1910; her parents were listed as Pequot and b. in CT.

Children b. in Groton, CT:

1. **MOSES EMMANUEL SEBASTIAN** b. October, 1846 [1900 census]; age 10 - 1860 census; age 31 - 1880 census - Stonington; m. Jennie (—), b. in CT, May,

1849 [1900 census]; age 26 - 1880 census. Moses is buried in the Whitehall Cemetery in N. Stonington [gravestone has no dates]. They were living in Stonington [1880 and 1900 censuses].

Children in 1900 census - Stonington:

- a. FANNY T. SEBASTIAN b. c. 1873; age 7 - 1880 census.
  - b. JAMES b. SEBASTIAN b. c. 1878; age 2 - 1880 census; he is buried in the Whitehall Cemetery in N. Stonington beside Francisco and Moses E. Sebastian [gravestone has no dates].
  - c. EVERETT H. SEBASTIAN b. September, 1879 [1900 census]; age 8 mos. - 1880 census.
  - d. HATTIE C. SEBASTIAN b. November, 1882. [1900 census].
  - e. MOSES EMMANUEL SEBASTIAN JR. b. August, 1890 [1900 census].
  - f. H. CLIFFORD SEBASTIAN b. April, 1894 [1900 census].
2. CALVIN H. SEBASTIAN b. c. 1852; age 7 - 1860 census; age 28 - 1880 census - Stonington; d. 18 February 1881 [Union Baptist Church Records]; m. Mary E. (—), b. in CT, c. 1849; age 31 - 1880 census. Calvin is buried in the Stonington Borough Cemetery, Stonington. In 1880 Calvin's father is listed as b. in "Portugal."

Children b. in CT:

- a. Willie A. Sebastian b. c. 1876; age 4 - 1880 census.
  - b. Ella J. Sebastian b. c. 1879; age 1 - 1880 census; d. 1936 [Union Baptist Church Records]
3. FRANCISCO SEBASTIAN b. c. 1854; age 6 - 1860 census. He is buried in the Whitehall Cemetery in N. Stonington [gravestone has no dates]; m. Mary E. (—), b. in CT, c. 1854; age 26 - 1880 census - Groton.

Children:

- a. Francisco "Frank" M. Sebastian b. 20 December 1873 [1900 census - Stonington]; age 5 - 1880 census; age 35 - 1910 census - Stonington; m. c. 1895 [1900 census] to Edith (—), b. in CT, August 1870 [1900 census]; age 41 - 1910 census.

Children:

1. Clara B. Sebastian b. December 1891 [1900 census].
2. Frank E. Sebastian b. November, 1896 [1900 census]; age 13 - 1910 census.
3. Daisy L. Sebastian b. March 1897 [1900 census]; age 12 - 1910 census.
4. William E. Sebastian

5. Roy Emanuel Sebastian

- b. Mary E. Sebastian b. c. 1877; age 3 - 1880 census.
- c. Jesse Sebastian b. c. 1879; age 1 - 1880 census; m. Annie George, b. c. 1885, d. 17 November 1925.
- d. Calvin [H.] Sebastian b. 10 April 1884; d. 1909; m. Ruth Harry, daughter of Augustus Henry and Harriet Jane Williams.
- e. Catherine Sebastian b. 15 February 1886; m. (1) Albert Carpenter, and (2) Peter Harris [see Carpenter Family].
- f. Phoebe E. Sebastian b. 24 May 1892; m. Earl Smith.
- g. Charles Sebastian b. 23 August 1896; m. Nellie Smart.
- h. Benjamin Sebastian b. 24 September 1900.
- i. Ella Sebastian
- j. Frederick Sebastian

4. MARY "MARILLA" R. SEBASTIAN b. November 1851 [1900 census]; age 5 - 1860 census; age 23 - 1880 - Stonington; d. 6 May 1931 [Union Baptist Church Records]; m. to William Henry Wilson of South Carolina, c. 1874; age 27 - 1880 census; age 69 - 1910 census. Both his parents were also b. in South Carolina. Her father b. in "So. America, Portuguese," and mother in CT. In 1910 they had been married for 34 years and had eight children, all living according to the 1910 census.

Children: all children listed on the 1910 census - Groton:

- a. George H. Wilson b. c. 1876; age 4 - 1880 census.
- b. Corry Wilson b. c. 1877; age 3 - 1880 census.
- c. Ida W. Wilson b. November 1879 [1900 census]
- d. Alden F. Wilson b. c. 1881; age 19 - 1910 census.
- e. Lawrence E. Wilson b. July 1885 [1900 census].
- f. Hannah E. Wilson b. February 1889 [1900 census].
- g. John C. Wilson b. August 1893 [1900 census]; age 16 - 1910 census.
- h. Flora L. Wilson b. September 1896 [1900 census]; age 13 - 1910 census.
- i. (Daughter Carrie) Not living with her parents in 1910; m. a Mr. Powers.

Children:

- 1. Mary E. Powers b. c. 1901; age 9 - 1910 census.
- 2. Ralph F. Powers b. c. 1906; age 4 - 1910 census.

5. SOLOMON BRUTUS SEBASTIAN b. in CT, January, 1859 [1900 census]; d. 21 February 1938 [Union Baptist Church Records]; m. Julia N. Boswick in 1878. She was b. in CT, 1 August 1856, August 1858 [1900 census]. They were living in Groton at the time of the 1880 and 1900 censuses.

Children: probably b. in Groton, CT; all listed on the 1900 census for Groton:

- a. ARTHUR SEBASTIAN b. in CT, September 1879 [1900 census]; age 9 mos. - 1880 census; m. c. 1904 to Betty R. (Roberts). She was b. in Virginia c. 1878; age 32 - 1910 census. Both of her parents were also from Virginia. They are residing in Mystic in 1920 [1920 census].

Children: all listed in the 1910 census - Groton; and b. in CT:

1. Emerson W. Sebastian b. c. 1904
2. Lillian V. Sebastian b. in Mystic, CT, 13 January 1906.
3. Julia Bostwick Sebastian b. c. 1908.
4. Arthur W. Sebastian b. 1910
5. Ida Belle Sebastian b. 1912; age 8 - 1920 census.
6. Dorothy L. Sebastian b. 1915; age 4 yrs. 9 mos - 1920 census.
7. James Edward Sebastian b. in Mystic, CT, 4 November 1919.
8. Howard L. Sebastian b. in Mystic, CT, 25 October 1922.

- b. JULIA BOSWICK SEBASTIAN b. in CT, February, 1881 [1900 census]. She is unmarried; age 39 [1920 census - Mystic].

- c. AGNES SEBASTIAN b. in CT, February, 1883 [1900 census].

- d. **CLARENCE W. SEBASTIAN** b. in CT, 13 September 1886 [1900 census]; living in Mystic, CT, 1938; m. (1) Anna Henrietta Williams, daughter of Ephraim and Sarah (Sebastian) Williams, b. in CT, c. 1887; age 23 - 1910 census; m. (2) LaVene (Simmons) Gamble, b. 21 June 1918, daughter of Herman and Phoebe (Jackson) Simmons. Clarence appears on the overseer lists from 1914-1935. Clarence appears on the 1910 census in Stonington with his family.

Children:

1. David L. Sebastian b. c. 1907; age 3 - 1910 census; age 13 - 1920 census.
2. Lewis J. Sebastian b. c. 1909; age 1 1/2 - 1910 census; age 11 1920 - census.
3. Evelyn E. Sebastian b. c. 1910; age 10 - 1920 census.
4. Anna Sebastian b. c. 1915; age 4 yrs. 3 mos. - 1920 census.
5. Marion Sebastian b. c. 1917; age 2 yrs. 3 mos. - 1920 census.
6. Josephine Sebastian

7. Jennie Sebastian
8. Gladys Sebastian
9. Gertrude Sebastian
10. Alfred Sebastian
6. ALBERT D. SEBASTIAN b. c. 1860; age 4 mos. - 1860 census.
7. SYLVIA "SILVA" SEBASTIAN b. c. 1861; age 8 - 1870 census; age 19 - 1880 census; d. 11 January 1943 [Union Baptist Church Records]; m. (1) James Niles and (2) Frank G. Stedman. She appears on the overseer lists as SYLVIA (SEBASTIAN) STEDMAN from 1930-1935.
8. TAMER EMELINE SEBASTIAN b. in Groton, CT, 3 May 1865; age 40 - 1900 census; d. 30 October 1942; b. c. 1863-6, age 17 - 1880 census; age 44 - 1910 census; m. (1) 13 June 1885, Joseph H. Swan, b. Madagascar 1851, age 34 when married; (2) in 1890 Calvin Williams [see Williams Family]. Listed in the 1870 census as Lina, age 6 - 1870 census [see Calvin Williams].

Children:

- a. SARAH "SADIE" SWAN b. in CT, c. 1886; age 34 - 1920 census; m. VINCENT S. S. HOLLAND, b. in Pennsylvania c. 1861; age 59 - 1920 census - N. Stonington. Her name appears on the overseer lists as SARAH "SADIE" from SWAN 1911-1922 and as SARAH "SADIE" HOLLAND from 1918-1940. Sarah and Vincent were residing with her mother in North Stonington in 1920.
9. SARAH E. SEBASTIAN b. c. 1868; age 2 - 1870 census; age 12 - 1880 census; m. Ephraim Williams. She appears on the overseer list as SARAH WILLIAMS and as Mrs. Ephraim Williams on the 1900 and 1910 Ledyard Indians censuses [see Williams Family].

## SEWCRIAENTS

**SIMON SEWCRIAENTS** His name appears on the tribe's 1766 petition to the General Assembly.

## SHELLY / SHERLY / SHIRLEY

**CLARRY SHELLY** This name appears on the overseer lists from 1841-1846.

**CYRUS SHELLY** b. in Stonington, 15 October 1763; d. 5 December 1830, age 65; m. (1) Hannah Towas in Stonington, 19 December 1784; m. (2) Betsey Rogers in N. Stonington, 8 April 1822; d. 16

January 1836, aged 55 years. Cyrus appears on petitions and the overseer lists in 1788, 1820, and from 1824-1830. He was bound out in 1774.



Children:

1. **CYRUS SHELLY JR.** b. c. 1785. He was married to [?]. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1827-1851. He is listed on the 1840 census for N. Stonington with (1) male 24 to 36, (1) male 36 to 55, (2) females under 10, (1) female 36 to 55.

Children:

- a. "child" d. 8 July 1836.

**ELIZA SHELLY** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**FANNY SHERLY** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873.

**"H. SHELLY'S CHILDREN"** This notation appears on the 1838 overseer list.

**HANNAH SHELLY** Her name appears on petitions and the overseer lists from 1788-1836. Wife of Moses Brushel.

**LEM SHELLY** His name appears on petitions and the overseer lists from 1788-1839.

**LEMUEL SHELLY** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1827-1841.

**NED SHELLY** His name appears on the overseer list in 1838.

**POLLY SHELLY** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1827.

**SAMUEL SHELLY** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1820-1836.

**THOMAS SHELLY** b. in N. Stonington, c. 1802; d. in N. Stonington, 26 September 1863, age 61 [N. Stonington VRcds.]. His name appears on the overseer list in 1841. Thomas Shelly appears on the 1830 census - N. Stonington, with (1) male 24-36 and (1) female 24 to 36 (Thomas and his wife). Thomas appears again in N. Stonington on the 1840 census with (1) male under 10, (1) male 36 to 55, (1) female 24 to 36.

#### **SHON / SHUNTAUP / SHAUNTUP / SHOUNTAUP / SHUNTUPS / SHANNUP**

**HENRY [H.] SHUNTAUP** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1838-1852.

**J. SHUNTP** This name appears on the overseer lists from 1845-1848.

**JEHANNAH SHUNTAUP** This name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1829.

**JERE[MIAH] SHUNTUPS** m. **JOANNA SHON** in Stonington, 26 November 1789. His name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly. Joanna's name appears perhaps as Jehannah on the overseer lists from 1823-1829.

**S. SHUNTUP** This name appears on the overseer list in 1843.

**SAMUEL SHANTUP** b. in N. Stonington c. 1779; d. in N. Stonington, 1 September 1857, age 78; single. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1820-1850; he moved to Wisconsin in 1850 and reappears in 1851-1858. Samuel is on the 1840 census in N. Stonington with (1) male 24 to 36, (1) 36 to 55, (1) female 24 to 36.

**SARAH SHON** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1824.

## SILVER

**BARBARAA. (SPELLMAN) SILVER** Her name appears on the overseer lists as Barbara Spellman from 1930-31, and Barbara A. Spellman Silver from 1933-1935.

**JESSE LIMA SILVER** b. in Canada, nationality Portuguese [1910 census]; m. **RACHEL (SPELLMAN) SILVER**, b. 1897; age 22 - 1910 census. He does not appear in the 1910 census in N. Stonington. Her name appears on the overseer lists as Rachel Silver 1921-1929, and Rachel Spellman Silver 1930-1935.

Children:

1. **TEXEL SPELLMAN SILVER** b. in Maryland c. 1916; age 3 1/2 - 1910 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935.
2. **PHILLIP SPELLMAN SILVER** b. 16 June 1918. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935. He appears to have been adopted by Jesse Silver; his birth record shows Philip Ellsworth Smith, b. 16 June 1918, the "illegitimate" child of Paul Smith "white" and Rachel Jackson Spellman "Indian."
3. **ESTHER SILVER** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935.

**RUTH G. (SPELLMAN) PECKHAM** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935.

## SIMON / SIMONS / SIMMONS

**BINGN. SIMON** This name appears on the tribe's 1766 petition to the General Assembly.

**MARIA SIMONS** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1922.

**RACHEL SIMONS** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1889.

**RUSSELL J. SIMONS** b. in CT, c. 1818; d. a widower in Stonington, 20 March 1888, age 70; age 38 - 1860 census - Stonington; age 56 - 1880 census; m. 19 May 1850 **HARRIET A. GARDNER**, b. in CT, c. 1832; age 28 - 1860 census - Stonington; age 46 - 1880 census; daughter of Harry & Ann (—) Gardner. They appear on the 1850 census living with Joseph Rosarp. In the 1870 census for Stonington they appear as: Russel 45, Harriet 36, Maria 19, Harriet A. 16, Russel 12, Hamon 9, Mary 4.

Children b. in CT:

1. **MARIA SIMONS** b. c. 1851; age 9 - 1860 census - Stonington. She is listed as "Maria D. Simons," living with her parents on the 1860 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1922; m. John H. Smith.
2. **HARRIET SIMONS** b. c. 1855; age 5 - 1860 census - Stonington. She is listed as living with her parents on the 1860 census. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873, or perhaps this is her mother; m. Daniel Williams, b. in Baltimore, MD, c. 1854; age 26 - 1880 census, in Stonington, 9 April 1871. Daniel and Harriet are residing with her father in Stonington in 1880.

Children listed on the 1880 census:

- a. William Williams b. in CT, c. 1871; age 9 - 1880 census.
  - b. Daniel Williams b. in CT, c. 1874; age 6 - 1880 census.
  - c. Emma Williams b. in CT, c. 1878; age 2 - 1880 census.
3. **RUSSEL SIMONS** b. c. 1858; age 2 - 1860 census -Stonington. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1890-1922. On the 1860 census his name appears as "Russel J. Simons."
  4. **WILLIAM W. SIMONS** b. c. 1859; age 8 mos. - 1860 census - Stonington.
  5. **HERMAN E. SIMONS** b. December, 1861 [1900 census]; m. Jennie Peters, b. in RI, July, 1869 [1900 census]. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1935. He was residing with his parents at the time of the 1880 census, age 19. They were residing on Water Street, Stonington [1900 census].

Children listed on the 1900 census:

- a. **LENA SIMONS** b. in CT, December, 1886.
- b. **HERMAN R. SIMONS** b. in CT, August, 1892; m. **PHOEBE (JACKSON)**. Possibly a duplicate listing with his father Herman Sr.

Children:

1. **LAVENE SIMONS** b. in Pawcatuck, CT, 21 June 1918 [N. Stonington VRcds.]; m. **CLARENCE SEBASTIAN**, 10 May 1935.
6. **MARY SIMONS** b. c. 1866; age 14 - 1880 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1935; m. William Davis. She was also listed as **MARYE. DAVIS**. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935.
7. (son) b. in Stonington, 27 February 1872.

## **SINAMENT**

**SHELL SINAMENT** Listed on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## **SKESUCKS**

**NANCY SKESUCKS** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1836.

**RACHEL SKESUCS** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1857-1861.

**THOMAS J. SKESUX** His name appears on the overseer list in 1873.

## **SOWERS / SAWAS**

**JACOB SAWAS** His name appears on the tribe's 1766 and 1788 petitions to the General Assembly.

**JOSIAH SOWERS** His name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**MARY SOWERS** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

## **SPELLMAN**

**ALICE BARBARA SPELLMAN** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1915-1918. This is the same person as **BARBARA A. (SPELLMAN) SILVER**. Her name appears on the overseer lists as Barbara Spellman from 1930-31, and as Barbara A. Spellman Silver from 1933-1935.

**GEORGE R. SPELLMAN** b. in Dighton, Massachusetts, June, 1865 [1900 census]; age 5 - 1870 census - Dighton, MA; the son of Henry and Julia (Hammond) Spellman. His father was b. in North Carolina, and his mother in Massachusetts [1900 census - Groton]; m.

**PHEBE E. (JACKSON) SPELLMAN**, b. in CT, September, 1864 [1900 census]; d. 1922, the mother of Atwood "Silver Star" Williams. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1911-1923. Daughter Rachel b. 1897.

Children b. in CT, and listed on the 1900 census - Groton:

1. **GEORGE V. SPELLMAN** b. February 1887 [1900 census]
2. **GERTRUDE M. SPELLMAN** b. October, 1890 [1900 census]. Her name appears on the overseer lists as **GERTRUDE M. (SPELLMAN) DALY** from 1928-1935.
3. **HENRY H. SPELLMAN** b. September, 1894 [1900 census]
4. **RUTH G. JACKSON** b. June, 1896 [1900 census]
5. **RACHEL SPELLMAN SILVER** b. in N. Stonington 5 November 1897 [1900 census]; m. Jesse Lima Silver.

**LUCY [H.] SPELLMAN** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1922-1935.

**REGINALD S. SPELLMAN** m. **OLIVE F. JACKSON**. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1916-1935.

Children:

1. **DONALD WILLIAM SPELLMAN** d. 1934. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1934.
2. **LOLITA ESTHER SPELLMAN** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1935.

## **STEDMAN**

**SYLVIA (SEBASTIAN) STEDMAN** b. c. 1862; age 2 - 1870 census; m. Mr. Stedman. She appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1935 [see Sebastian Family].

## SWAN

**SARAH "SADIE" SWAN** She is the daughter of Mr. Swan and Tamer E. (Sebastian) Swan; m. Vincent Holland [see Holland Family]. She appears on the overseer lists from 1911-1922, and as SARAH HOLLAND from 1918-1940.

## TIKEN / TELTKEN / TIKINS / TYKENS

**AME TELTKEN** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**BETSEY TYKINS** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1823-1833.

**BETTY TIKINS** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**ELIZ. TIKINS** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**FREELOVE TYKINS** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1827.

**LUCY TIKENS** Her name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**SAMUEL TIKENS** His name appears on the overseer list in 1827.

## WATSON

**ALBERT WATSON** [Narragansett] b. in CT, c. 1814; age 46 - 1860 census - Stonington; age 65 - 1880 census - Stonington. He was residing in Charlestown, RI, when he m. (1) **LAURAA. "LORRY" FAGENS** in N. Stonington, 30 November 1843. She was b. in CT, c. 1826; age 34 - 1860 census - Stonington; d. before 1870. Albert was age 55 at the time of the 1870 census and was residing in Stonington; m. (2) Sarah J. (—) Niles, b. in CT, c. 1830; age 50 - 1880 census, after 1870. Listed in this household in 1880 was a "son," James Niles, apparently Sarah's son, age 29.

### Children:

1. **FRANCIS C. WATSON** b. in N. Stonington c. 1843; d. in N. Stonington, 23 May 1909, age 66. Francis, age 15 - 1860 census; age 25 - 1870 census; age 36 - 1880 census. He is living with his parents in 1860-1880. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1873-1891.
2. **MARY E. WATSON** b. c. 1846; age 13 - 1860 census; age 24 - 1870 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists in 1873, and from 1878-1879; m. Calvin Sebastian.
3. **AUGUSTUS EDGAR WATSON** b. in N. Stonington c. 1853; d. in N. Stonington 4 May 1894, age 40 yrs. 10 mos. He was listed as age 10, 1860 census - Stonington; he was listed as "Edgar"; age 21 - 1870 census.
5. **JAMES W. WATSON** b. c. 1853; age 7 - 1860 census - Stonington; age 17 - 1870 census. His name appears on the overseer list in 1869.
6. **SARAH JANE WATSON** b. 9 September 1856; age 3 - 1860 census; age 13 - 1870 census. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1869-1871. On her birth record she is listed as "female."

**EDGAR WATSON** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1868-1891.

**MARY WATSON** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1922.

**MONROE WATSON** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1889-1891.

### **WAUGS / WAGGS**

**ELIZAH WAGGS** This name appears on the tribe's 1788 petition to the General Assembly.

**ESTHER WAUGS** Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1827-1834.

**EUNICE WAGGES**

Child:

1. "**Child**" of Eunice Wagges who appears on the overseer lists from 1840-1844.

### **WILLIAMS / QUASH**

In the 1870 Stonington census is Mercy Quash, b. in CT, 1792; age 78 - 1870 census, living in Stonington. Within her household is a Mary A. Potter, b. in CT, c. 1820; age 50 - 1870 census. The next household listed in the census schedule is that of Jesse Quash, b. c. 1824; age 46 - 1870 census. The Quash and Williams families are one in the same. Jesse Williams, the son of Ammon and Mercy Williams, was b. c. 1824; age 26 - 1850 census, and appears on the overseer lists from 1892-1922. With the knowledge that Mercy was the widow of Ammon Williams, and the mother of Jesse Williams and Mary A. (Williams) Potter, it is evident that the Quash surname is an alternate surname to Williams. Ammon Williams/Quash, b. c. 1789, is probably the son of Quash Williams [1762-1830] of Stonington, who was buried with his wife Harriet in the Whitehall Cemetery in N. Stonington.

**AMMON WILLIAMS** b. in CT, c. 1789; age 66 - 1850 census - N. Stonington; age 65 - 1860 census - Stonington; d. 30 November 1869; m. Mary/Mercy (—), she was b. in CT, c. 1792; age 58 - 1850 census - N. Stonington; age 57 - 1860 census - Stonington; d. 17 August 1874.

Children:

1. **MARYANN (WILLIAMS) POTTER** b. in CT, c. 1813; age 47 - 1860 census - Stonington. She is living with Charles H. Williams and his family in Stonington. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1873-1891. She is listed on the 1850 census as "Anna," age 36; m. Peter Potter.

Children:

- a. **JESSE L. POTTER** b. in CT, c. 1844; age 16 - 1860 census - Stonington. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873. He is living with Mary [above] at the time of the 1860 census and is listed in 1850 as Jesse Williams, age 6.
- b. **AMMAN POTTER** [a.k.a. Amond, Ammon], b. in CT, May, 1848; age 12 - 1860 census - Stonington; age 52, 1900 census - Ledyard. His name appears

on the overseer list in 1873. He is living with Mary and Jesse [see above] at the time of the 1860 census; m. Eliza N. (—) [1900 census], c. 1894. She was b. in CT, March, 1850; her parents were b. in CT. They had no children.

2. **CHARLES H. WILLIAMS** b. c. 1816; age 34 - 1850 census; age 41 - 1860 census; d. 1862.
3. **JESSE WILLIAMS** b. c. 1824; age 26 - 1850 census. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1890-1922; m. (1) Phebe Rogers and (2) Sophia Babcock. There may be two different persons named Jesse Williams.
4. **FRANK WILLIAMS** b. c. 1830; age 20 - 1850 census; age 30 - 1860 census; d. 5 July 1868.
5. **CALVIN WILLIAMS** b. in N. Stonington c. 1832; d. in N. Stonington, 8 July 1913, age 81 yrs. 6 mos. [N. Stonington VRcds.]. Calvin was age 41, "Indian" - 1870 census; age 48, "Indian" - 1880 census; and age 62 - 1900 census living on the Indian Reservation; m. (1) Amanda (Nedson), b. c. 1827; age 53, "Indian" - 1880 census, in N. Stonington, 25 February 1869. His name appears on the overseer list in 1873. Calvin filed his intention of marriage on 16 December 1890 and m. (2) **TAMER EMMELINE "LINA" (SEBASTIAN) SWAN** in N. Stonington, 23 December 1890, by Rev. A.J. Chandler, the daughter of Manuel and Tamer (Brushel) Sebastian. She was b. in Groton, CT, 3 May 1865; age 40 - 1900 census; d. 30 October 1942. She was living in N. Stonington 1920. At the time of the 1900 census Calvin is listed as Pequot; his mother was Pequot, b. in CT; his was father Narragansett b. in CT. Emma is listed as Pequot; both her father and mother were listed as Pequot and b. in CT. The 1910 census for N. Stonington showed Calvin as 77 years old, and a Pequot Indian; his parents were Pequot Indians as well. Calvin is listed as 3/4 Indian, 1/4 black. His wife Tamer is 44 years old, and identified as a Pequot Indian; her father was Portuguese and from Brazil; her mother was Pequot b. in CT. In 1920 Tamer lists her father as b. in Brazil and her mother b. in CT. In 1850 Calvin is listed with his wife, Delusa, age 23 and their son Jesse Williams age 6 years old.

Children [these daughters are probably from Tamer's first marriage to Mr. Swan, not her second to Calvin Williams]:

- a. **MARY WILLIAMS** b. in CT, 1885; age 15 - 1900 census.
- b. **SARAH "SADIE" WILLIAMS HOLLAND** b. in CT, c. 1886; age 34 - 1920 census; m. **VINCENT S. S. HOLLAND** [see Holland Family].

**AMANDA (NEDSON) WILLIAMS** b. c. 1829; age 41, "Indian" - 1880 census. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873.

**ATWOOD I[SAAC] WILLIAMS (SR)**, b. 1 March 1881; m. Agnes E. Gardner, 15 November 1899. His father was Isaac Williams [non-Indian] and his mother, Phebe E. [Orchard] Jackson. Phebe's mother was **RACHEL HOXIE** (Orchard) Jackson.

Children b. in N. Stonington:

1. **JENNIE M. WILLIAMS** b. 18 August 1900, "Indian." Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1930; and as Jennie M. George in 1931-1935.
2. **FRANK L[LOYD] WILLIAMS** b. 12 March 1902. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935.
3. **ATWOOD I. WILLIAMS (JR.)** b. 12 April 1910, in North Stonington.

**HARRIET WILLIAMS** b. c. 1840; age 20 - 1860 census - N. Stonington. Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873. In 1860 she is residing with Fannie Bloomfield.

**JAMES EARL D. WILLIAMS** His name appears on the overseer lists from 1928-1935.

**LUCY E. WILLIAMS** Her name appears on the overseer list in 1873.

**EPHRAIM WILLIAMS** b. in CT, February 1865; m. **SARAH E. (SEBASTIAN) WILLIAMS**, 16 May 1885, Groton, CT, b. in CT, February 1865, d. 1933. Her name appears on the overseer lists from 1931-1933. Ephraim and Sarah are residing in Ledyard in 1900. They are included on the Indian Population Schedule with their children; they are all affiliated with the Pequot Indians per the census.

Children, all b. in CT and listed as "Indian" on the 1900 census:

1. **FRANKLIN C. WILLIAMS** b. December, 1885. His name appears on the overseer lists from 1930-1940. He is living in Stonington with his sister Henrietta and her husband Clarence W. Sebastian.
2. **SARAH J. WILLIAMS** b. October, 1893 [1900 census].
3. **ANN HENRIETTA WILLIAMS** b. July, 1887 [1900 census]; m. Clarence W. Sebastian [see Sebastian family].
4. **BERTHA WILLIAMS** b. May, 1896 [1900 census].

**WILLIAM WILLIAMS** His name appears on the overseer list in 1873; b. 1866, child of Jesse Williams; brother to Mary Mercy, Harriet, Charles Williams.

## WRIGHT

**MRS. (—) WRIGHT** She appears on the overseer list in 1928.

## === NO SURNAME ===

**FILENA** [a.k.a. Philena] Her name appears on overseer lists from 1827-1848.

This analysis of the names of individuals appearing on petitions and overseer reports makes explicit various kinship networks and lines of descent within the membership of the Eastern Pequot Tribe.<sup>14</sup> With few exceptions, all of the names listed are those of Eastern Pequot Indians, or are individuals who, while they may have been linked ethnically to other Indian tribes in the region,



acted, and were accepted and treated by the membership, as Eastern Pequot Indians. Those who do not appear to be Indian are either the spouses of tribal members or are otherwise associated with the tribe and its membership.

Of great significance, in terms of the demonstration of the Eastern Pequot community and the interconnectedness of its members, is the geographic distribution of the individuals identified in the above analysis and those who appear on overseer lists to 1940 (see state and federal censuses and other vital records cited above). Virtually without exception, all of the tribe's membership resided on the Eastern Pequot reservation or within a ten mile radius of the reservation. Therefore, the Eastern Pequot Tribe meets the high evidence standard for community set forth in the acknowledgment regulations for the period 1683 to 1940 (§ 83.7[b][2][i]).

### ***The Eastern Pequot Tribe and the Mohegan Model***

To demonstrate the existence of its contemporary community, the Eastern Pequot Tribe has applied the standard set out in the acknowledgment of the Mohegan Tribe of Indians of the State of Connecticut — the “Mohegan Model” (see Mohegan Final Determination, Technical Report:49-51, 55-56). The Mohegan Model sets out four characteristics that together are regarded by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research to be strong indicators of community. That is, the Branch states that these four characteristics are a principal means by which “the relation of the social core to the periphery” can be assessed and, importantly, quantified, thereby demonstrating what portion of a tribe's membership “has a significant social connection to the social core” (ibid.:55-56). It is this “significant social connection to the social core” that demonstrates the existence of the contemporary community.

The four characteristics of the Mohegan Model are as follows: (1) members who currently live in the Social Core Area; (2) members who were born in the Social Core Area; (3) members who have primary kin living in the Social Core Area; and (4) members who are known to interact with the social core through other data (ibid.). As in the case of Mohegan, the Eastern Pequot Tribe has designated “primary kin” as children, parents, and grandparents (ibid.:56).

In addition, the social/geographic core of the Eastern Pequot Tribe is delineated by a 10-mile radius circle, drawn from a center located on its reservation at Lantern Hill, the cultural, spiritual, and geographic center of the Eastern Pequot Tribe (see the map that follows). Moreover, the reservation has been a home to the tribe's more distant ancestors and a place where the great-grandparents, grandparents, and parents of the current membership have lived and managed to survive in the face of decades of oppressive and antagonistic policies and actions of colonial and state officials. The Eastern Pequot reservation has also served the tribe as a central place for over 300 years, where tribal members have gathered for social events, economic pursuits, mutual aid, and to conduct political business. The social/geographic core area of the Eastern Pequot Tribe is identical in size to that defined for the Mohegan Indian Tribe (ibid.).<sup>15</sup>

## Application of the Mohegan Model to the Eastern Pequot Tribe

### 1. Members living in the Social Core Area:

Of the 645 members (of 647) of the Eastern Pequot Tribe with known addresses, 312 live in the Social Core Area. This figure is 48.372 percent of 645 (see Appendix A).

### 2. Members born in the Social Core Area, but who live outside the Social Core Area:

Of the remaining 333 members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe, 76 were born in the Social Core Area. This figure is 11.783 percent of 645 (see Appendix B).

### 3. Members with primary kin living in the Social Core Area:

Of the remaining 257 members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe with known addresses, 62 have primary kin living in the Social Core Area. This figure is 9.612 percent of 645 (see Appendix C).

### 4. Members who live outside the Social Core Area, but who are known to interact with members living in the Social Core Area through other data:

Of the remaining 195 members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe with known addresses, a *minimum number* of 73 are known to interact with members living in the Social Core Area through other data. This figure is 11.318 percent of 645 (see Appendix D).

The four characteristics of the Mohegan Model are summarized in Table 5.

The total percentage of all individuals in the Eastern Pequot Tribe who meet at least one of the four characteristics of the Mohegan Model, 81.085 percent, is significantly higher than that presented in the Mohegan case, which, when corrected for errors, is 68 percent.

In addition to the above statistics regarding the application of the Mohegan Model to the Eastern Pequot Tribe, are those regarding tribal members who currently reside in the Social Core Area. Of the 645 tribal members with known addresses, 312 or 48.372 percent, today live in the Eastern Pequot Social Core Area. In the Mohegan case, this figure was just 34 percent (Mohegan Final Determination, Technical Report:50). This statistic for the Eastern Pequot Tribe takes on added significance when one considers that of the 312 tribal members who currently live in the Social Core Area, 279 were born in the Social Core Area (see Appendix E). This number (279) is 43.256 percent of the total tribal membership with known addresses (645); it is 89.423 percent of the 312 members living in the Social Core Area.

Also in Mohegan, it was noted that of the total number of members who were born in the Social Core Area, 65 percent resided in the Social Core Area (Mohegan Final Determination, Technical Report:54). For the Eastern Pequot Tribe, this figure is 78.592 percent (279 members who were born in and today live in the Social Core Area [Appendix E] divided by 355 members who were born in the Social Core Area [76 in Appendix B plus 279 in Appendix E]).

**Table 5.**  
**Application of the Mohegan Standard**  
**to the Eastern Pequot Tribe (N = 645)<sup>a</sup>**

Characteristic Number	Percent	
1. Live in the Social Core Area	312	48.372
2. Born in the Social Core Area, but live outside the Social Core Area	76	11.783
3. Members who live outside the Social Core Area, but have Primary kin living in the Social Core Area	62	9.612
4. Members who live outside the Social Core Area, but who are known to interact with members living in the Social Core Area through other data	73 <sup>b</sup>	11.318
<b>Totals</b>	<b>523</b>	<b>81.085<sup>c</sup></b>

Notes: <sup>a</sup> The Eastern Pequot Tribe has 647 members; there are known addresses for 645, the statistic used here.

<sup>b</sup> See Appendix D for the names and number of tribal members who meet characteristic 4. As in Mohegan, this represents a *minimum number*. Researchers for the Eastern Pequot Tribe contacted a large number of heads of households within the tribal membership who did not meet characteristics 1, 2, or 3 of the Mohegan Model. Those tribal members whose names are listed in Appendix D were determined to interact with members living in the social core by fulfilling at least two of the following forms of interaction: (1) regular attendance at tribal meetings; (2) regular attendance at the annual powwow; (3) regular participation in the 4th of July, Christmas, or Labor Day gatherings; (4) regular visits with tribal members living in the core area, including attendance at weddings, baptisms, birthday parties, retirement parties, and funerals; (5) frequent phone calls to family members living in the core area; (6) frequent phone calls to tribal officers or to staff members in the tribal office; (7) regular contact with senior family members who provide information on tribal business and social gatherings; (8) vote in tribal elections; and (9) receive and read the tribal newsletter (Burgess 1997; Stama 1997). **NOTE:** Unlike the Mohegan case, where men, women, and children of all ages were included in characteristic 4, the list of tribal members in Appendix D, with the exception of six individuals between the ages of 15 and 17, are 18 years of age or older (cf. Mohegan Final Determination, Technical Report:56). There are 28 children under age 15 whose parents are listed in Appendix D. If these children are added to the total for characteristic 4, the overall percentage of tribal members who meet at least one of the four characteristics of the Mohegan Model increases to 85.426.

<sup>c</sup> **NOTE WELL:** In Mohegan, the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research asserted that the composite percentage of tribal members who had "at least one significant connection to the social core" was, at minimum, 89 percent (Mohegan Final Determination, Summary Under the Criteria:14-15; Mohegan Final Determination, Technical Report:55). That is, 89 percent of the Mohegan tribal membership was alleged to have met at least one of the four characteristics of the "Mohegan Model." However, based on the data provided in the "Summary Under the Criteria and Evidence for Final Determination for Federal Acknowledgment of the Mohegan Tribe of Indians of Connecticut," dated 7 March 1994, this figure of 89 percent is in error. The correct figure is 68 percent.

\* \* \*

The Eastern Pequot Tribe comprises and has been identified as a distinct community, and has existed and functioned continuously as such, for over three centuries. The tribe, therefore, meets fully criterion (b) of the regulations for federal acknowledgment.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Beginning in 1859-1860, names of tribal members are found in the accounts of the overseer and also in lists of tribal members that follow these accounts. From all indications, the tribal members whose names appear in the accounts were, for the most part, living on the reservation and receiving assistance from the overseers, and that all of the others enumerated were living off the reservation.
- <sup>2</sup> Given the scarcity of resources available to the Eastern Pequot Tribe during this period of time, in terms of land, housing, and the limited assistance provided by the overseer, it is likely that there would have been strong opposition to Williams's membership if, in fact, he was not considered to be a bona fide tribal member. There is no evidence in the record, however, of any such general opposition. Atwood Williams notwithstanding. Indeed, Franklin Williams was considered by many to be a "chief" of the Eastern Pequot Tribe (Starna 1997; *Westerly Sun*, 23 February 1949).
- <sup>3</sup> It is important to note the absence of any evidence of membership disputes within the body politic of the Eastern Pequot Tribe at any time during this period.
- <sup>4</sup> This discussion on the 4th Sunday Meetings and the early 4th of July picnics is based on interviews of tribal members, all of whom are more than 70 years of age (Burgess 1997; Starna 1997). As suggested by their name, "4th Sunday Meetings" were scheduled for the fourth Sunday of every month. Whether meetings actually were held each and every fourth Sunday was contingent on the weather and the availability of transportation to Sarah Sebastian's and Tamer Emeline Sebastian's homes.
- <sup>5</sup> During the late 1920s and into the 1930s, two non-Indian women often attended the 4th Sunday Meetings: a Miss Butten [possibly Button or Buffin] and an Adeline Singleton. Apparently these two women were, in the words of several tribal members, "Holy Roller types," who would join the group in their religious experience and speak in tongues (Burgess 1997).
- <sup>6</sup> Alden Wilson was an influential member of the Eastern Pequot Tribe in the 1940s [see discussion in criterion (c)].
- <sup>7</sup> The Eastern Pequot Powwow is not open to the general public.
- <sup>8</sup> Throughout this period and beyond, the colony, and subsequently, the state of Connecticut, have consistently and continuously maintained a government-to-government relationship with the Eastern Pequot Tribe (see, generally, Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut and Ch. 24, Conn. Stat.).
- <sup>9</sup> Mrs. Calvin Williams did not have grandchildren.
- <sup>10</sup> Beginning about 1928 there is an increase in the numbers of tribal members whose names appear on overseer reports, that is, there is an apparent expansion of the Eastern Pequot community. This increase in community size experienced by the Eastern Pequot Tribe mirrors a similar expansion of Indian communities seen all across the United States at this time. Presaging the Depression, there was a downturn in the U.S. economy in the early 1920s. This had the effect of forcing many Indian people, who worked for subsistence wages generally in farming and in the service sector, where the economic downturn hit first, back to their communities and their reservations where they would find support and assistance.
- <sup>11</sup> Identifying and locating tribal members for genealogical and other related purposes is obviously contingent on the availability and quality of pertinent records. Censuses, while an incomplete source of information on the tribe, resulting generally from the inattention or even neglect of census enumerators when it came to

Indian people, nonetheless provided the basis for much of the analysis presented in this petition. Other records have been much less helpful. For example, no useful data were found in tax records, probate records, or land records. Given the meager economic circumstances experienced by virtually all members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe, their absence in such records is not surprising.

<sup>12</sup> Tamer Brushell and Helen LeGault are two notable examples of tribal members who had spent their early years on the reservation, had left for a number of years to work and marry, and then had returned to reside there later in life.

<sup>13</sup> A number of Brushells [various spellings] moved to Brothertown (Love 1899:337)

<sup>14</sup> It is critical at this juncture to distinguish kinship from descent, a distinction that is fundamental in the analysis and understanding of kinship systems. Kinship defines a number of statuses and their interrelationships according to a variety of rules or principles that are culturally defined, and often, culturally specific. Descent forms a unit of consanguineally related kinsmen. A descent unit cannot include all kinsmen, nor can it include kinsmen who are related in any way other than consanguineally.

<sup>15</sup> It is emphasized here that the Eastern Pequot reservation has been occupied exclusively, and on a continuous basis, by a subset of the membership of the Eastern Pequot Tribe since 1683.



## Criterion (c)

*The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.*

\* \* \*

### Introduction and Summary

- Overseers administered tribal funds, but eastern Pequots tried whenever possible to participate in their governance, and to protect their community from exploitation from overseers and other non-Indians.
- Political activity among the Eastern Pequot took several more "covert" forms.
- Petitions to Colonial and State authorities document a continuous political activity and awareness among members of the Eastern Pequot community.
- Tribal leadership between 1883 and 1973 was both symbolic and pragmatic. Several spokespersons played important roles in drawing public attention to Indian concerns, and protecting the Eastern Pequot community from economic exploitation.
- Factionalism within the Eastern Pequot community is further evidence of the longstanding political reality of the Eastern Pequots.
- Since 1976, the Eastern Pequots have been governed by a tribal constitution and by-laws, and political authority has been exercised by the tribal council on a continuous basis.

In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, leadership in the Eastern Pequot Tribe was vested in headmen or principal persons, among whom were women. Later in the nineteenth century, political power and authority were exercised primarily by influential individuals and heads of families (see below: "Political Authority in the Eastern Pequot Tribe: 1683 to 1973"). From 1973 to 1975, the tribe and its leadership were fully involved in their protest of the actions taken by the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council (hereinafter, CIAC) in regard to tribal affairs. Beginning about 1975, however, although the tribe continued to challenge claims by the CIAC to jurisdiction over its affairs, especially on questions of membership, it turned to a number of other matters bearing directly on the tribe's future.

## Political Authority in the Eastern Pequot Tribe: 1683 to 1973

### *The Overseer System and Political Action Among the Eastern Pequots*

From the earliest period of colonization of southern New England, English authorities and their American successors sought to regulate Indian life there in every respect; not even the most intimate details of Native hygiene, family life, and diet were below their notice (e.g. Salisbury 1975; Von Lohuyzen 1989, Plane 1996). The autonomy of southern New England Native communities in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can be measured to some extent by their ability to resist or avoid such interference. For those Native people who survived disease, dispossession, and military defeat, and who chose to remain in their traditional territories, Colonial control was most evident in three areas; religious conversion and instruction; legislation designed to regulate Indian behavior, and direct intervention into the conflicts that continued to mark inter- and intra-Indian relations in the region. Of these three, the role of missionaries, overseers, and guardians was to prove most significant in determining the course of Native political and economic life.

In 1649, the English Parliament created the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, later called simply, New England Company, and charged it with the task of collecting funds for the purpose of converting the Indians of New England (Kellaway 1961:1). This Society labored in North America for one hundred and fifty years, and continues its work in Canada (ibid.) Although the funds were collected and invested in England, they were administered in the colonies by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, a confederation of representatives of each of the four colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Massachusetts, established in 1643 (ibid:62).

Potential access to the society's funds, which were, among other things, instrumental in the founding of such educational institutions as Harvard College, and the College of William and Mary in Virginia, motivated colonial officials to encourage missionary activities, and through the missionaries, to establish a bureaucratic structure for the management of Indian peoples. The Society provided for the salaries and occasionally, for the educational expenses of missionaries and potential missionaries, for the publication of religious tracts in various Native languages of the region, for the support of Indian ministers and teachers, and often, for the employment of Indians, and for support of indigent Indians (Kellaway 1961: e.g. 108-109, Mayhew 1735). In addition, Society funds also were used to pay non-Indian magistrates to oversee the "Civill Government" of Native people such as Daniel Gookin and Humphrey Atherton, who were required to ensure that the Indians "live according to our laws as far as they are capable," (Kellaway 1961:105).

Missionary activities were more pronounced in Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, due to the efforts of John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, and others, the only outstanding seventeenth-century mission in Connecticut was that of Abraham Pierson, who preached to the natives (probably Paugussets) near Branford, Connecticut, whose *Some Helpes For the Indians* (1658), in the Quiripi language, was the collaborative work of Pierson and the translator and agent of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Thomas Stanton.



Cotton Mather's letters to Company officials in the early eighteenth century concerning the stubborn "paganizing" of the Connecticut Indians prompted Experience Mayhew's visits in 1713 and 1714 (Kellaway 1961:250-251), and Connecticut officials began concerted efforts to secure Society funds, to be used for the proselytizing of the Pequots and Mohegans (ibid:252). Detailed records from the Company's archives reveal that such funds were also to be used for the support of indigent natives, and that English missionaries would also serve, as they did elsewhere in southern New England, as overseers and guardians. For example, a letter from Captain John Mason, who sought permission from the General Assembly of Connecticut in 1723 to live among the Indians of New London, for the purpose of establishing a school among them and protecting their lands from further encroachments, required food and blankets for the twenty Indian children who would reside at the school (Kellaway 1961:253).

Thus, while the missionaries and other English agents of the New England Company and the Commissioners of the United Colonies served as liaisons between the Indian communities and the colony and crown, provided limited educational opportunities and economic assistance and encouragement, and occasionally protected their charges from egregious exploitation by their non-Indian neighbors, they constituted at the same time, the means by which colonial authority over Indians was established and maintained. Thus, resistance to the missionary effort on the part of the Eastern Pequots and other Indians of the region in the eighteenth century might appropriately be seen as a political act; by rejecting Christianity, the Indians were likewise rejecting the overarching authority that sustained that effort.

Nevertheless, procedures for administering to and controlling Indian communities established in the seventeenth century, largely funded through missionary society funds, including the confinement of Indians to limited territories or reservations, the appointment of government-approved native leaders to represent their residents, the expedient appointment of local landowners as Indian guardians, and even the use of missionaries as overseers, spokespersons, and liaisons with the colonial government, remained in place after the Revolutionary War. The Eastern Pequots and their Indian neighbors inherited a position in a paternalistic wardship system, which in turn became the basis for their later relations with the Connecticut Parks and Forest Commission and Welfare Department (Bee 1990:195).

Interestingly, strategies also developed in the seventeenth century by Indians who chafed under this system continued to represent the most overt Native political activity in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indians could, and did exercise limited control over the choice of their Native leaders and overseers, and protest the neglect or mismanagement of their funds and lands by their guardians and overseers. Action of this sort was generally memorialized in petitions to the various colonial and later, state governments, a well-established form of political action among southern New England Indians now more than three centuries old.

### ***Political Action in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries***

#### **Religious Conversion as a Political Act**

According to William Simmons (1983) Native people of Connecticut and Rhode Island stubbornly resisted the overtures of Puritan missionaries throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

teenth centuries. In the 1740's however, with the arrival of the Great Awakening, many eastern Pequots accepted Christianity for the first time. Like many of the poor and disenfranchised peoples of the region, the Eastern Pequots were attracted to a faith which seemed to reject the values of the dominant class. The widespread conversion of Eastern Pequots to New Light Congregationalism and to various Baptist sects, and their active proselytizing of these new religious perspectives can be seen as another form of political action as well. Significantly, much eastern Pequot social life came to focus around religious worship, such as the "Fourth Sunday meetings" held at Aunt Kate's and Aunt Liney's in the early years of the twentieth century. Religious worship became another symbol of Indianness and reflected the refusal of the Eastern Pequots to be subsumed within the wider society.

### **Early Nineteenth Century Political Protest— William Apess**

Another outcome of the Great Awakening in southern New England was the emergence of a group of dedicated traveling Native ministers and preachers, including Samuel Niles of the Narragansett, and Samson Occom of the Mohegan, "Blind Joe" of the Mashpee, and William Apess, who was probably of Eastern Pequot descent. Like Indian prophets elsewhere then and later, these itinerant preachers urged Native people to take pride in their origins, to recall and to practice what was noble in their pasts, and to reject the lowly social status that had been assigned to them by non-Indians (Apess in O'Connell 1992:lxx). Apess was perhaps the most explicitly political of these preachers, and his famous "Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Mashpee" (1835) is among the earliest published critiques of the treatment of Native Americans written by an Indian author (ibid.note 34 pp. xxxix-xl). Apess, drawing on his own experiences as a member of a dispossessed and despised minority, sought to draw all Indians of the region together to protest their treatment, a form of Pan-Indian political action which undoubtedly served to raise the consciousness of all Indian people in the region. It is not surprising that his model was King Philip, the Wampanoag who had so nearly succeeded in creating an Indian coalition in the late seventeenth century (ibid.).

### ***Eastern Pequots and the Rise of Pan-Indian Organizations***

Eastern Pequots also began to participate, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in a network of regional and fraternal Pan-Indian organizations, which arose, as Ann McMullen has argued in "reaction to white America's notions of class and race" (1994:124) and which sought to make explicit aspects of Indian heritage and identity which had become largely "covert" in the nineteenth century often through the adoption of such pan-Indian symbols as dance regalia, stone pipes, and Plains-style dance and music (ibid.) Eastern Pequots participated in several such organizations, including the Indian Council of New England and the "Knights of Pythias," (Burgess 1998). Eastern Pequots remember participating in many pageants depicting Indian culture and history, especially as students (Burgess 1997). Figure 8 shows a 1957 photograph of Eastern Pequots Gyendolyn Sebastian and Gladys Sebastian dancing in a school pageant.

These activities, which span the important decades of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, demonstrate continued political awareness among the Eastern Pequots. In the eigh-



*Figure 8. Gwendolyn (Sebastian) Hill and Gladys (Sebastian) Hunt, school pageant, 1957.*

teenth and early nineteenth century, the primary political and social concern of Native people of southern New England was the preservation of their communities. In the late nineteenth century, however, Indians began to wield political power through the use of easily recognizable symbols of Indian identity such as tipis, feather headresses, and calumet pipes. Ann McMullen puts it clearly:

This willingness to adopt aspects of other cultures selectively contributed in large part to localized pan-Indianism in New England: native people took what they needed for a time in order to be recognized (1994:144).

### ***Petitions to Colonial and State Authorities***

Political action among the eastern Pequot in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is most visible in the many petitions and memorials that the community, or its representatives, submitted to colonial and later, to state authorities. In general these petitions reflected the Eastern Pequot's desire to protect the reservation and its resources, their reasonable wish to have some say in the choosing of their overseers, and their concerns about the way their overseers were carrying out their jobs. Like other southern New England Native people, the Eastern Pequot were remarkably skilled and

eloquent as petitioners. Native petitions, whether in English or a Native language, are often literary and rhetorical works of art, and are clearly related to what must have been pre-contact speech styles (Bragdon 1981, Goddard and Bragdon 1988). New England Indians, including the Eastern Pequots continued to employ this ancient art effectively in the centuries following English colonization.

From 1683 until 1883, the best documented examples of the exercise of political authority by the Eastern Pequot Tribe and its leadership are in the form of petitions filed with colonial and state authorities. These petitions, and a description of the political issues of concern to the tribe they addressed, are presented below:

### **28 September 1698**

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Pequots of Stonington petition to be placed under the protection of Governor John Winthrop. Headmen named are Old Ephraim, Chegorup, Negonnood, Wecuntuk queneeg, Mishung, Mauquor itt, and Naquttungan. Others tribal members include Mashanshowett, Mat tapsq, Mamos agen, Coaz, Cunge amo'h, and Nonuk omaush. [IP, I:48]

### **9 May 1723**

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Pequot Indians of Stonington petition that their "planting ground" be conferred to them and protected in accordance with the 1683 agreement establishing the reservation. There are more than 130 tribal members, of which twenty male children are said to be bound out. Signatories: Sunk Squaw [Mary Momoho], Ash-kah-soo-Duck, Quo-no-mo-suck, To-beso-ki-ant, Sam-Saw-was, Mo-as, Wee-yoah-hoye-zon, Ned, and Kindness. [IP, 2nd, II:22-22b]

### **23 May 1749**

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Memorial of Samll Sawas, Simon Sokient, Jacob Sawwas, Sampson So=ke=ent, and Mary Mo=mo=hor, Pequot Indians of Stonington — that they are being molested on their lands by "sundry persons." [IP, II:40]

### **10 June 1766**

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Memorial of the Indian inhabitants of the Town of Stonington to have a new overseer appointed. Signatories: John Quiumps, Abner Indian [crossed out], Amos Miller, Moses Quiumps, Simon Sauciunt, Jacob Sawus, Jonatha Nockey, Peter Pawkeeg, and Ben Simon. [IP, II:250]

### **October 1766**

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Petition of "Pequot Indians Living in Stonington" to replace their overseers. Petitioners: John Quiomps, Amos Miller, Moses Quiomps, Simon Sewcraients, Jacob Sawas, Jonathan Nehey, Peter Pawhege, and Bingn. Simon. [IP, II:251]

### 3 May 1788

---

The "pequod Tribe in Stonington" petitions the Court for overseers. Signatories: Jacob Sowrs, John Quumps, James Neel, John Kindness, James Abner, Jere Shuntups, Willard Miller, Cyrus Shelly, Elizah Waggs, Lem Shelly, Mary Sower, Mary Quiumps, Eliz Shelly, Betty Tikins, Mary Abner, Judy Moses, Tump Moses, Mary Honnabell, Eliz. Tikins, Mary Sowers, Josiah Sowers, Margt. Quiump, Hanb Paukeese, Lucy Tikens, Peter Peters, Grace Poll, Shell Sinament, Pigg Georj, Ame Telltken(?), and Hannah Shelly. [IP, II:252]

### 6 May 1800

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Memorial of "the tribe of Indians living in the town of Stonington," protesting that "the Whole people At pleasure" turn their animals on the tribe's lands, that "Other tribes of Indians, With Negroes & Molattoes," have moved onto their lands, and that a number of the "Aged and helpless people in our tribe" are in need of food and water. Signed by Lathan Hull, "at the Request, & in behalf of said tribe." [IP, 2nd, II:105]

### 27 January 1841

---

Petition of the "Pequot Tribe of Indian residents in North Stonington," to remove their overseer and replace him with another. Signatories: Samuel Shuntaup, Polly Shelly, Sarah Pomp, Thomas Shelly, Clarry Shelly, Prudence Pauheag, Hannah Nedsen, Lemuel Shelly, and Thomas Nedson. [see file: Petitions]

### 26 June 1873

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Petition of members of the "Pequot tribe of Indians of North Stonington, objecting to the sale of lands and requesting that their overseer be removed and another appointed in his place. Signatories: Calvin Williams, Amanda Williams, e. Cottrell, M. Jackson, Fanny "", Irean "", Phebe "", Lucy "", Wm. h "", Jan M J, Leanerd B, [three names illegible], Jane M. Watson, and Sarah J. Watson. [see file: Petitions]

### 31 March 1874

---

Petition of the "Pequot tribe of Indians of North Stonington," protesting the sale of their lands and requesting that their overseer be removed and another appointed in his place. Signatories: Calvin Williams, Amanda Williams, Mercy Williams, Eunice Cottrel, Leannard Brownne, Abby Randall, Florance Randall, Ellice Randall, John Randall, Jr., Jesse L. Williams, Sophia Williams, Elisabeth E. Williams, Harriet E. Williams, William L. Williams, James M. Watson, Augustus E. Watson, Sarah(?) Watson, Francis O. Watson, Mary A. Potter, Wily Jackson, Emily Ross, Permic(?) Jackson, Rachel Jackson, Faneos(?) Jackson, Molbrow Gardna, Isaac Tracy, Fannie Jackson, Ireine(?) Jackson, Phebe Jackson, and Lucy Jackson. [see file: Petitions]

### 3 December 1883

---

Petition of the "Pequot Tribe of Indians in the Town of North Stonington," report that their overseer has died, and request that another be appointed in his place. Signatories:

Eunice Cottrel, Calvin Williams, Molbro Garner, Mrs. Rachel Jackson, Phebe Jackson, Fannie Jackson, Irene Jackson, Lucy(?) Jackson, William Jackson, Jennie P. Jackson, Mrs. Abby Randall, Mrs. Amanda Williams, Mrs. Mary E. Bastian, Wm. A. Bastian, Ella J. Bastian, Edgar Watson, Amon Potter, Harriet Potter, Ned Williams, and Francis Watson. [see file: Petitions]

### ***Other Political Activity***

Political activity among the Eastern Pequot was, as in many Native American communities, closely connected to the social activity and expressions of Indianness described above. This informal political activity is at least as important in maintaining a group as a distinctive self-governing community, as the more formal political action undertaken by tribal spokespersons. Both formal and informal political actions taken by the Eastern Pequot people are described in historical records, in state and federal files, and in oral histories dating back to the early years of the twentieth century.

Aside from the petitions described above, it is clear that political action among the Eastern Pequots took a number of less dramatic forms. The nature of settlement (see above) meant that on a daily basis, at least, each of the three or more Eastern Pequot "enclaves," one on the reservation, and others in core area neighborhoods in Stonington, Mystic, and New London [see, for example, Appendix G], looked to leaders or elders, whose experience, social ties, economic resources, or leadership skills made them the most suitable people to solve family disputes, straighten out problems with the State Parks and Welfare Department representatives, and even, to speak to reporters and anthropologists!

Burgess (1998) has identified an enclave centering around the reservation, and including families from North Stonington, Mystic, and Norwich. Aunt Liney, (Tamer Emeline Sebastian Williams) a long time residence on the reservation has frequently been mentioned as the symbolic and effective head of this group. Aunt Liney was influential in the spiritual life of the group, the organizer and host of the "4th Sunday meetings," (see religious practice, below), and a skilled basketmaker whose work was well-known among scholars and collector (Butler 1947:41). Aunt Liney met with overseers who visited the reservation, and was, as Burgess argues "the contact person and primary conveyor" of tribal news (Burgess 1998). Aunt Liney's role was taken on by Kate (Catherine) Harris, who also was a long term resident of the reservation (ibid.)

In Mystic itself, where a large percentage of Eastern Pequot descendants and tribal members reside or have resided in this century, Frank Sebastian Sr. was considered a leader, and often referred to as "Chief." According to older tribal members, Frank was responsible for organizing hunting parties, and helped needy tribal members (Burgess 1998). Frank's role was taken on by Roy Sebastian Sr, and finally to Roy Sebastian, the present Chief Hockeo.

### ***Lawsuits and Clashes with State Officials***

In addition to formal challenges to the state over tribal funds, lands, and sovereignty, political action in the twentieth century also took the form of occasional defiant actions on the part of

individual Eastern Pequots against various state and local authorities. Several elderly Eastern Pequots mentioned the fact that Aunt Kate Harris once shot at a local sheriff who ventured onto the reservation (Burgess 1997). Similarly, a newspaper article dating to 1931 reported that Solomon Sebastian, an elderly eastern Pequot Indian, refused to pay taxes, because he was an Indian, and "had rights ... the white man should not seek to infringe on" (New London Evening Day 5/15/1931). More recently, tribal member Wolf Jackson spearheaded the effort to have Mason's statue removed from the site of the Pequot Massacre of 1637.

In the same way, the persistence many Eastern Pequots showed when seeking permission to use the reservation in the early decades of the twentieth century, (for example, when Lillian Sebastian sought to purchase a house on the lake that was offered to her "because of her Indian ancestry" Burgess 1997:interview with Lillian Sebastian), which meant having to "deal with Hartford," (ibid), bespeaks a stubborn refusal to allow bureaucracy to defeat them, or to deny their rights as Indians.

### ***Factionalism***

According to anthropologist Karen Blu, factionalism is not uncommon in Indian communities. Blu cites the Pine Ridge Dakota community, as an extreme example, wherein factions have occasionally used violence towards one another (Blu 1980:69). Such factionalism is often associated with the absence of political hierarchy and the lack of continuity among leaders (ibid:68). This Blu argues, is also common among non-treaty Indians, who have not, until recently, been required by law to elect a council and a chairperson (ibid). Blu concludes that "in the absence of formal arenas of competition and in the presence of strong orientations in individuals to work for the benefit of the group," factionalism can be a constructive political force (ibid:1). The factionalism within the Eastern Pequot community, discussed in more detail below, is also evidence of the political vitality of the community as a whole.

### ***The Administration of the Eastern Pequot Tribe***

The various petitions that the Eastern Pequot Tribe brought before the Connecticut General Assembly are compelling indicators of significant and purposeful tribal political activity. The majority of petitions filed represent tribal initiatives to appoint and replace overseers with whom there was dissatisfaction, usually related to their mismanagement of reservation lands or possibly their failure to carry out assigned duties and responsibilities.

The Eastern Pequots considered their overseers as their agents, a view that is supported by the tribe's frequent requests to remove overseers, and moreover, to make specific recommendations for their replacement.<sup>16</sup> The tribe also saw the role of the overseer as that of a fiduciary. Throughout the eighteenth century and for the greater part of the nineteenth century, the Eastern Pequot Tribe leased reservation lands to non-Indians for pasturage and for the harvest of timber (see generally, file: Overseer Reports; file: Petitions; IP [Indian Papers]). The overseer then collected the rents, which were kept in a tribal fund that he administered.

The tribe's income from leases was used to pay the overseer a salary and expenses, but more importantly, it was used to support needy tribal members, most of whom appear to have lived on the reservation. It is doubtful that the overseer was more than casually acquainted with a large part of the tribe's membership, especially in terms of the specifics of their place of residence off the reservation, their economic circumstances, or their personal affairs. In all likelihood, therefore, tribal leaders must have kept the overseer informed about tribal members who were most in need.

Individuals who received assistance appear in the overseer accounts. These are detailed records of the disbursements of funds derived from the leasing of reservation lands, which were then allocated to specific tribal members through the offices of the overseer acting on behalf of the Eastern Pequot Tribe. In this manner, the Eastern Pequot Tribe provided food, clothing, housing and house repair, medical care, school supplies, and funeral expenses for its members. This form of political activity — the allocation of income derived from the effective use and management of tribal resources for the benefit of tribal members — is high evidence of political authority under the regulations for federal acknowledgment (§ 83.7[c][2][i]).

## Leadership

There is limited evidence that there were tribal leaders who were identified specifically as "chiefs," from 1883 to 1973. The first such designated leader is Atwood I. Williams, Sr., Chief Silver Star, who is discussed at length in this section of the petition (see below, "Factional Politics in the Eastern Pequot Tribe: The Twentieth Century"). Tribal members disagree about whether Williams shared the tribe's leadership with Franklin C. Williams in the 1930s and possibly the 1940s, was replaced by Franklin in the mid-1930s, or remained a leader until his death in 1955, when he may have been succeeded by his son, Atwood I. Williams, Jr.<sup>17</sup>

With the advent of World War II, there was a decline in tribal political and social activity, an experience common to most American Indian communities in the nation at this time, including the Narragansett tribe in Rhode Island, and the Mohegan and Mashantucket Pequot tribes in Connecticut. Yet of even greater significance in restricting tribal activities, especially those whose nature was exclusively or manifestly political, were the oppressive and paternalistic actions of the State Welfare Department, which had assumed oversight of the tribe in 1941 (Conn. Gen. Stat. § 1587c [1939]). In a report first prepared for the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council in 1979, Soulsby (1981:107-108) writes:

Any Indian desiring to live on his or her tribal reservation was required first to apply in writing to the Welfare Commissioner and was not permitted to move onto the reservation until written approval was granted. No tribal member was allowed to erect a building on a reservation without written permission from the Welfare Commissioner, the site for the building to be chosen by the Commissioner. Any building erected without this permission or on a site not approved by the Commissioner could be removed by the state at the expense of the builder. No Indian was allowed to make repairs or improvements on any pre-existing building without the written consent of the Commissioner. Those who desired to repair or upgrade a building were first required to furnish the Commissioner with plans and specifications as well as evidence of financial ability to complete the project. Furthermore, all build-





*Figure 9. Alden Wilson, Eastern Pequot tribal leader.*

ings erected on a reservation were made subject to the care, control, and management of the Commissioner and, unless otherwise authorized, were to be considered a part of the reservation. No business of any kind was allowed to be conducted on the reservation. Any Indian entering a reservation, or building on it without the written permission of the Welfare Commissioner could be evicted. Indians residing on the reservations were required to keep their homes and the adjacent land clean and sanitary on penalty of eviction by the state. The Welfare Department also had control of tribal funds but was not required to account for the money to the tribes. In addition, although the reservations were meant to be for the Indians alone, non-Indians frequently trespassed on the reservations without prosecution or eviction by the state.

In spite of the interference of the State Welfare Department in the management of the Eastern Pequot reservation, in the maintenance of the physical property of the tribe, and even in the lives of individual tribal members, strong evidence exists for leadership during this period of time.

The first example dates to the 1940s. Alden Wilson, who with his wife Josephine had organized and hosted the 4th of July gatherings from 1940 to 1960 [see discussion under criterion (b)],



*Figure 10. Roy Sebastian Sr., Eastern Pequot reservation, 1960s.*

also took the initiative to insure that tribal members living on the reservation were properly treated and cared for by the overseers. Tribal elders reported that Wilson made frequent visits to the families on the reservation, often accompanied by tribal member Lawrence Wilson, “to check on them,” and “to make sure that everything was alright.” Wilson also met with the tribe’s overseer during these visits, apparently intervening on behalf of the tribal members living there (Burgess 1997; Starna 1977). Wilson’s activities are clearly reminiscent of the actions taken by tribal leaders in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to insure that funds derived from the lease of reservation lands were properly distributed by the overseer to needy tribal members (see above, “The Administration of the Eastern Pequot Tribe”).

The second example is linked to a situation that developed on the Eastern Pequot reservation in 1964. Arthur Sebastian, Jr., a tribal member who resided on the reservation each summer, protested on behalf of the tribe to the Commissioner of the State Welfare Department that a source of water for the reservation had been destroyed by an off-reservation, non-Indian resident (Sebastian to Shapiro 1964).

Sebastian reported that a fresh water spring — what he described as a “community spring” — located near the property line of the reservation, had “been a source of supply for drinking purposes to the Indians for generations” and had been “maintained by the members of the Indian Tribe in the past” (ibid.). A Mr. Holt had first dumped manure near the spring and, at a later point

in time, filled it with boulders and other debris, destroying it as a source of fresh water. Sebastian reminded the Commissioner that the state had previously assisted the Indians in maintaining the spring (ibid.; cf. Speer to Barrell 1964). "In view of all this," he continued, "I am appealing to you to intercede for us [members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe] with the hope that we may have available a source of drinking water" (Sebastian to Shapiro 1964).

Sebastian, assisted by Albert Carpenter, another tribal member, also enlisted the aid of State Senator Morgan K. McGuire, whose home district included North Stonington (McGuire 1964). Within three months of Sebastian's original complaint, the state had dug a new well on the reservation for the use of its Indian residents (Barrell to McGuire 1964).

A third example is the actions of Roy Sebastian, Sr. (see Figure 10), in establishing "The Sebastian Foundation" about 1965. Recognizing that a number of Eastern Pequot families were experiencing hardships, Sebastian, assisted by Frank Sebastian and members of the Carpenter family, went to tribal members requesting contributions.<sup>18</sup> Funds collected were placed in a separate bank account under the name, "The Sebastian Foundation," and were used to purchase food or to provide rent money for destitute families. Sebastian and other tribal members also hunted and fished on the reservation, pooling their catch and distributing it to Eastern Pequot families in need. The "Sebastian Foundation," which involved a large number of tribal members, contributors and recipients alike, continued in operation until the mid-1970s (Starna 1997; Burgess 1997).

## **Factional Politics in the Eastern Pequot Tribe: The Twentieth Century**

From the establishment of the tribe's reservation in 1683, and as demonstrated by the extensive record of nearly 300 years of interaction with colonial and then, state officials, there has existed but one Eastern Pequot Tribe. The names of the "principall men" of the "pequitt indeans" of Stonington, as the Eastern Pequot Tribe was then known, were first recorded in 1698 when they petitioned the General Court of the colony to be placed under the protection of Governor John Winthrop (IP, I:48). This and subsequent petitions, in concert with a dispute over the tribe's land in the mid-eighteenth century, led the colony to assign overseers to the Eastern Pequot Tribe in 1763, although there may have been earlier commissions (IP, 2nd, II:22-22b; IP, II:40-48; IP, II:250). Overseers are also named or reported assigned in 1766, 1788, 1800, 1804, 1814, 1815, 1819, and 1820 (IP, II:250-51, 252; IP, 2nd, II:105-106, 107; IP, 2nd, I:108, 18, 109, 110).

The surviving records also indicate that in 1823, the overseer reports began including enumerations of Eastern Pequot Indians living both on and off of their North Stonington reservation (see file: Overseer Reports). The overseers filed these reports, on what was nearly an annual basis, from 1823 until 1935. There is one noticeable but insignificant gap in the record: 1892 to 1910.<sup>19</sup> From 1935 to 1940 lists of tribal members were maintained by the State Park and Forest Commission, acting in the capacity of the tribe's overseer. Beginning in 1941 oversight of the Indians in Connecticut was transferred to the Welfare Department. In 1975 the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council (CIAC), which had been formed two years earlier, requested that each of the state recognized tribes prepare and submit a list of members. The process of requesting tribal rolls,

which had begun with the CIAC, was codified under Connecticut General Statutes § 47-66j in 1990.<sup>20</sup>

In the 1960s Indians in Connecticut, reacting to decades of repressive, paternalistic, and uncompromising regulation by the State Welfare Department, began an effort to shift the responsibility for Indian affairs from the state to the Indian tribes themselves. In response, in 1973 the Connecticut General Assembly passed legislation to create the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council. The CIAC was authorized to "provide services to the Indian reservation community of the State and formulate programs suitable to its needs" (Public Act 73-660).

Public Act 73-660 also provided that each of the five state recognized tribes in Connecticut select one representative and one alternate to serve on the CIAC.<sup>21</sup> According to CIAC records, Helen LeGault, an Eastern Pequot tribal member, presented herself as the tribe's representative in November 1973. LeGault's seat on the CIAC was immediately challenged by Alton Smith, who later was supported by Roy Sebastian Jr. and William Sebastian, Sr., who claimed that LeGault had not been duly elected by the tribe's full membership (Eastern Pequot Membership Hearing 1977; *Hartford Courant*, 5 September 1976; *New London Day*, 4 September 1976). The CIAC launched an investigation into the matter in December, and as an interim measure, seated LeGault as the tribe's representative, and Alton Smith, an Eastern Pequot tribal member associated with the Sebastian family, as an alternate. This arrangement was to continue until a representative was selected in a manner acceptable to the tribe and the CIAC.

In June 1975 regulations took effect requiring that each tribe seeking representation on the CIAC submit a description of its tribal governance and a copy of its tribal roll. Before it would seat a tribe's representatives, the CIAC would have to be satisfied that they had been selected in accordance with tribal "practice and usage" as set forth in these documents. Early in 1976 two organizations, the Eastern Pequot Indians and the Authentic Eastern Pequots [hereinafter, the LeGault faction], presented themselves before the CIAC seeking recognition.

The CIAC conducted a hearing on 10 August 1976 on the issue of determining membership in the Eastern Pequot Tribe. On 15 September the CIAC ruled that no agreed upon practice or usage to decide membership prevailed in the tribe, concluding instead that persons who could demonstrate one-eighth Eastern Pequot blood were to be recognized as members of the tribe and thus, be eligible to vote for the selection of the tribe's representatives.

Alleged procedural irregularities nullified the actions of the CIAC at its 10 August hearing, and a second hearing was scheduled for 18 January 1977. On 18 April the CIAC handed down its decision, which, for the most part, was identical to the one it had reached in September 1976. However, whereas in the first hearing the CIAC had ruled that the progenitors of the Eastern Pequot Tribe and the LeGault faction, Tamer Brushel Sebastian and Marlboro Gardener respectively, were both "full-blooded" Eastern Pequot Indians, its 1977 decision found Tamer Brushel Sebastian to be one-half Eastern Pequot. Voicing their dissatisfaction with the CIAC's decision, members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe brought suit in Superior Court.

In 1983 the Eastern Pequot Tribe again challenged the CIAC's actions in its seating of Richard Williams, also a member of the LeGault faction, as their representative. This challenge led the CIAC to conduct a hearing to confirm whether there was evidence of "a clearly defined, equitable,

and justly administered practice and usage" for determining membership in the Eastern Pequot Tribe (Eastern Paucatuck Pequot Decision 1983). "Further, there must also exist evidence that such practice and usage attempted to include all eligible members of the tribe and that such practice and usage was duly submitted and received by the CIAC" (ibid.). On 3 December the CIAC handed down its decision:

Because there is no recognized legal tribal government for the Eastern Paucatuck Pequots; and because CIAC regulations 47-59b-5 requires [*sic*] the seating of tribal representatives to be "in accordance with tribal practice and usage."; [*sic*] and because it has been determined that there is no legitimate tribal practice and usage as set forth above; and because there is no evidence that those individuals claiming to represent the tribe have been selected by a tribal government as described above, the CIAC declares that the Eastern Paucatuck Pequot seat on the CIAC is vacant until a new tribal government is created and the necessary prescribed documents are submitted to the CIAC. (Ibid.)

These procedural exercises of the CIAC, however, do not adequately reveal the determining issues that led to the initial challenge to the seating of Helen LeGault, or to the subsequent and very public dispute between Eastern Pequot tribal members. However, it is demonstrated and documented here that the dissension which has affected the Eastern Pequot tribe since 1973 is an example of factional politics, and that Helen LeGault, followed by Raymond Geer, and now, Agnes Cunha, represent leaders of a classically constructed political faction.<sup>22</sup>

As stated above, there has existed but one Eastern Pequot Tribe since the establishment of the North Stonington reservation in 1683. The breaking away of the LeGault faction occurred, in terms recognizable to the Eastern Pequot Tribe, the CIAC, and the state of Connecticut, in 1975. There is no indication whatever, as confirmed by the documentary record and by tribal oral tradition and testimony, that at any time prior to 1975 had the Eastern Pequot Tribe, as a political body, raised questions regarding its membership or its membership rules. This is not to say that conflicts have not arisen between tribal members and families, the most important of which are discussed below. What occurred in 1975, however, was the escalation of what previously and historically had been disputes between individuals and families, to a wholesale defection from the Eastern Pequot Tribe by the LeGault faction and the creation of an entirely separate Indian organization.

The first documented indication of any internal discord in the Eastern Pequot Tribe is from 1929. A request was made to the overseer of the Eastern Pequot Tribe by Franklin C. Williams, who appears on the 1905 overseer list and the 1900/1910 combined federal censuses as a member of the Western Pequot Tribe, to build a home on the reservation in North Stonington (Fanning 1905).<sup>23</sup> Williams's right to do so was challenged by "the chief of both tribes, Mr. Atwood I. Williams" (Stewart 1929). Following a hearing where both Atwood and Franklin Williams appeared before the overseer, who then sought the advice of Judge Allyn Brown of the New London County Superior Court, Williams was granted permission to build his home (ibid.).

Sometime in the mid-1920s, Atwood I. Williams, also known as Chief Silver Star, presented himself as the spokesman for the Ledyard [Western] and Eastern Pequot tribes. At times he had lived on both reservations. According to a number of tribal members, Williams's assertions to leadership were self-generated, but later may have been somewhat bolstered by his part in the founding of "The American Indian Federation" (*New London Day*, 26 August 1931; Starna 1997).

Incorporated in 1931, this organization included among its members Pequots, Narragansetts, Mohegans, and other Indians, along with a number of prominent non-Indians from the surrounding area.<sup>24</sup> Although Williams's group did reflect the pan-Indian sentiments of similarly-formed organizations that had sprung up all across the nation, including southern New England, his was limited in scope and relatively short-lived.

The specific reasons behind Atwood Williams's objections to Franklin Williams building a home on the Eastern Pequot reservation are difficult to reach. Those tribal members who have any direct memory of this event, and they are few, suggest that it was tied to race. According to one oral tradition, Franklin Williams's father, Ephraim Williams, was believed by some to have been an African-American, not an Indian, and that by contesting Franklin's attempt to reside on the Eastern Pequot Reservation, Atwood Williams was simply protecting the integrity of the tribe's membership. Ephraim Williams was, in fact, a Pequot Indian, with black ancestry.<sup>25</sup> Linked to this account is the contention by a number of the members of the present-day faction (i.e., LeGault/Cunha) that Atwood Williams was opposed specifically to the Sebastian family as members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe.<sup>26</sup>

Another view expressed by some tribal members is that Atwood Williams's claim to leadership was a pretension and that his public objections to Franklin Williams's residency were attempts to flex what he believed to be his political muscle. In 1933 Atwood Williams received tacit recognition of his "leadership," not so much from the tribe, but from the tribe's overseer and a Superior Court judge (New London County Superior Court 1933).<sup>27</sup> Moreover, a 1935 report prepared by the United States Indian Office stated: "Atwood I. Williams (Chief Silver Star) claims to be the tribal chief of the surviving Pequot and is seeking to gain legal recognition as such. This office is honorary and Mr. Williams acts as master of ceremonies at tribal and public meetings" (Indian Office Files 1935).<sup>28</sup> There is no evidence, however, that Atwood Williams was ever a leader of the Western Pequots. In the same 1933 Superior Court order where Judge Brown recognized Atwood Williams as the leader of the Eastern Pequots, he recognized John George as the leader of the Western Pequot Tribe. Even so, the real leader of the Western Pequot Tribe at this time was Elizabeth George Plouffe, who lived on the Ledyard reservation until her death in the 1970s (Campisi 1990:134-135).

It may also be that Atwood Williams undertook the attempt to prevent Franklin Williams from living on the Eastern Pequot reservation to forestall a challenge to his own assertions to leadership. Franklin C. Williams was reported to have been the chief of the Eastern Pequots in the early 1930s in interviews with two tribal elders (Starna 1997). Moreover, Williams's obituary shows that he was known as "Chief S[]abie to the tribesmen" and "was leader of the small band" that lived on the North Stonington reservation (*Westerly Sun*, 23 February 1949).

In 1938 another apparent disagreement over rights to reside on the Eastern Pequot reservation was reported. An inquiry was registered regarding Benjamin Sebastian, a tribal member:

Other families [unnamed] on the Reservation claim that she [Benjamin's grandmother, presumably Tamer Brushel Sebastian] was not a Pequot and therefore her descendants have no rights there. However, before the State Park and Forest Commission was appointed as Overseer the Superior Court had recognized some of her [Brushel's] descendants as mem-

bers of the tribe and so there seems to be nothing for the Commission to do but to assume that members of this family have rights in the tribe." (Cook to Gray 1938)<sup>29</sup>

The report nonetheless concluded that it would be difficult for Benjamin Sebastian to live on the reservation "unless he is in a position to provide himself with a house" (ibid.).

In 1962 the dispute which had originated between Atwood Williams and Franklin C. Williams in 1929 reemerged. Helen LeGault reported to the State Welfare Department that John Williams, a tribal member, was visiting Emeline Williams, his aunt and the widow of Franklin C. Williams, also apparently learning that John planned to live with his aunt on the reservation (Speer to Barrell 1962). By 1966 LeGault had become more vocal about "her displeasure with the type of individuals residing on the Reservation, indicating that many were not truly Indians and were 'so called' Indians" (Memo to file "(DeGault)" 1966).

She [Helen LeGault] also indicated that she knew that people who are not Indians, had paid money for the right to reside on the Reservation. She reported that the Sebastians were renting their leases and were not actually occupying the property which they had leased. She reported that Mr. Wilson who is to take over the Harris property, had been boasting that he had enough money to grease palms in Hartford to gain admission to the Reservation. She doubted that he qualified as an Indian, although she was assured the genealogy we had did qualify him for residence on the Reservation. (Ibid.)

An official investigation into LeGault's charges concluded that the cottages in question were "only occupied on weekends by the Sebastians and their house guest," thereby absolving the Sebastians of any alleged wrongdoing (Speer to Barrell 1966). For her part, Helen LeGault maintained that she and her husband "did not want to create any hard feelings with their neighbors, the Sebastians" (ibid.). LeGault, however, persisted in her now open hostility toward certain members of the Sebastian family.

In 1972 an official from Social Services conducted a property inspection of the Eastern Pequot Reservation where she spent some time with Helen LeGault and her husband, and a "Miss [Ruth] Geer," to decide on a site for a residence for Geer (Shaw to Meheran 1972). The report filed following the property inspection demonstrates, unlike any other document in the record, the source of Helen LeGault's opposition to members of the Sebastian family:

Since there seems to be considerable ill feeling among the self styled "white," Indians as to the eligibility of the "colored" Indians, and since all property on Bush Pond that has been granted, has been to the colored" faction, I felt that the first choice would be best from a "political" as well as from a social standpoint, particularly since Miss Geer is related to the Roswell Browns and the LeGaults. (Ibid.)<sup>30</sup>

It is important to underscore that up to this point in time, there is no evidence whatever for a membership dispute within the political body of tribe; nor is there any evidence for the existence of more than one Eastern Pequot Tribe. There does exist, however, strong evidence of a dispute between Helen LeGault and members of the Sebastian family, which, although fundamentally racial in tone, was also tied to competition over what clearly had become limited resources — land and a place to live on the Eastern Pequot Reservation.<sup>31</sup>

The creation of the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council in 1973 provided the vehicle with which the LeGault faction apparently believed it could strengthen its political position and, at the

same time, focus its opposition to the Sebastian family and its membership in the Eastern Pequot Tribe. As explained earlier, LeGault and her allies in the faction moved first to secure a seat on the CIAC. After the Sebastian family had filed a protest to this action, the LeGault faction evidently assumed that it would not only defeat this challenge but, at the same time, engineer the removal of the Sebastians from the tribe's membership rolls.

The LeGault faction's first approach was to raise the issue of non-Indians living on the reservation. LeGault told one newspaper that, "she was very worried about losing the reservation entirely to non-Indian 'squatters,'" claiming that the genealogical records of the state were "grossly incomplete" (*Norwich Bulletin* 1 April 1974). She had not yet introduced the membership issue, nor had she chosen to identify publicly specific members of the Sebastian family as the alleged transgressors. Indeed, in August of 1975, LeGault and Alton Smith, the tribe's alternate on the CIAC, together drafted a letter to the residents of the Eastern Pequot Reservation, one that makes no mention whatever of a membership problem:

The reservation continues today as a legacy of Pequot history. . . . The rights and benefits enjoyed by individuals derive from the legal and historical position of *the tribal group as a whole*. . . . We need your ideas and suggestions on the needs and problems of the reservation and the future courses that we as the Eastern Pequot representatives should be charting. It is important that we make the most of this opportunity to establish our own priorities and avoid the problems and inequities of the past. (LeGault and Smith to Eastern Pequot Residents 1975; emphasis added)

That there was as yet no apparent quarrel over membership in the Eastern Pequot Tribe is also confirmed in a reply to a letter written by LeGault and Smith regarding an action that the tribe had considered bringing to recover tribal lands (Crosby to LeGault and Smith). Nevertheless, in the spring of 1976, several members of the LeGault faction wrote to then Governor Ella Grasso, complaining that the State Department of Environmental Protection had given non-Indians, specifically, "five or six Portuguese familys [*sic*]" permission to live on the Eastern Pequot reservation (Brown, et al., to Grasso 1976).

By the fall of 1976 the LeGault faction, having earlier in the year presented itself before the CIAC as the "Authentic Eastern Pequots," intensified its denunciations of the Sebastian family tribal members. LeGault began by claiming that the members of the Sebastian family were "trying to get her to move from the reservation," and were "only exposing their own questionable backgrounds for scrutiny, and I'm confident that their claim to Indian citizenship will be determined false before this is all over" (*Hartford Courant*, 5 September 1976). "Some individuals always put their hand out to welfare—they'll do it to any worthwhile organization," she explained (*Mystic Compass*, 10 September 1976).

An important point in this discussion is that, while the LeGault/Cunha faction today maintains that the membership dispute concerning the Sebastians is decades old, LeGault herself argued otherwise. "The Sebastians only settled here in 1973 [LeGault] said, *rejecting claims that the dispute has been going on for a long time*" (ibid.; emphasis added).

As LeGault's attacks on the Sebastians continued, their attorney, Gilbert Sasha, maintained that, "it was not the intention of the suit [against the CIAC] to hurt Mrs. LeGault or cut her off. 'We



just want the council [read, CIAC] to take their own rules seriously,' he commented" (*North Stonington News*, 13 September 1976). As the record clearly demonstrates, throughout this protracted dispute, which began with Helen LeGault, and has been continued by Raymond Geer and Agnes Cunha, the Eastern Pequot Tribe and its leadership has acted in a conciliatory fashion towards the faction in hopes of unifying the tribe.

By 1982 Raymond Geer had assumed the leadership of the LeGault faction. Between July and September he served several Sebastian family tribal members with eviction notices, ordering them to vacate tribal lands (see file: Meeting Minutes [August to October 1982, May 1983]; see, for example: Geer to Sebastian 1982; Geer to Wynn 1982; Geer to Jordan 1982; Geer to Sebastian 1982. See also, Sebastian and Sebastian, Sr., to Geer 1982; Sebastian and Sebastian, Sr., to Piper 1982). No action was taken on these evictions, which, in any case, were ignored by the tribal members who had received them.

In hearings before the CIAC on 15 October 1983, Geer testified that his faction did not organize or form a government until after the 1977 hearings, and that his group's bylaws and constitution did not go into effect until 1981 (CIAC Hearing 1983:20).<sup>32</sup> Geer was questioned about his group's actions to organize:

GEER: Okay, basically, what we did, we took the CIA[C], Connecticut Indian Affairs Council decision of '77 and Judge Hendel's decision of '79 and got the qualified people together that met the one-eighth blood quota, to formulate a tribal government. Now, after that group gets together their bylaws and tribal role [*sic*], that's up to them what they do with that.

VANALLEN: But isn't it fair to say that you're changing the government, and that there are eligible members out there that they should be notified and have a vote (INAUDIBLE)?

GEER: We notified the ones that we felt fell into the one-eighth guideline according to the State statute. Okay? Now, you know, it's obvious to everybody here that we don't believe, that the Paucatuck-Pequot Council [the LeGault faction], does not believe that Tamer Brushell was Pequot Indian. I mean . . .

MEEHAN: Full-blooded.

GEER: . . . our tribal council does not believe she was Pequot Indian, period.

MEEHAN: At all?

GEER: At all.

MEEHAN: Thank you, that helps.

GEER: Now, we took the court decision and the CIAC's decision as far as allowing us to formulate a tribal government, okay? After you have a tribal government, then the tribal government decides who's who. The State doesn't decide, the tribal government decides. And that's basically what we did. And we've set up procedures for allowing people to apply for membership, you know, we have the criteria, and the, in the bylaws and constitution, and we're currently working on an application procedure so that everybody knows what has to be done and how things will be handled. And if anybody would like to apply for membership, we'll take our application procedure and, and do our best to follow it to the letter and, and that's it. (Ibid.:64-65)

What is evident from Geer's statements is that the LeGault faction, sensing an opportunity to disassociate itself from members of the Sebastian family, reorganized under CIAC guidelines as an entity *separate from* the Eastern Pequot Tribe. Once it had organized, it could then determine for itself who its members would be.

But Geer, as a leader of the LeGault faction, was clearly ambivalent about some of the members of the Sebastian family. A 1984 newspaper article reported on the LeGault faction's court appeal regarding the CIAC's decision on the membership dispute. Geer was asked what actions he would take if there was a default in the appeal:

He plans to ask the tribe [the LeGault faction] to return to the status quo, which he says means that he will be the tribal chairman and the Sebastians will not be considered tribal members. "If that happens I plan to pressure the state to evict the Sebastians, *not the ones who have been on the reservation for a long time, but the one's who haven't,*" Geer said. (*New London Day*, 21 July 1984).

Geer's statement is clear and unequivocal evidence that the dispute between the Eastern Pequot Tribe and the LeGault faction was not one about membership. It was, in fact, a dispute between a few members of the LeGault faction and some, but not all of the members of the Sebastian family.<sup>33</sup> The LeGault faction was objecting to the presence on the reservation of Sebastian family members, who, while they were bona fide members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe, had obtained rights to live on the reservation in the early 1970s (see discussion above, where LeGault rejected claims that the dispute had been going on for a long time). This situation cannot, in any way, shape, or form, be construed as a tribal membership dispute.

In July 1986 a meeting was arranged between the Eastern Pequot Tribe and representatives of the LeGault faction, Raymond Geer and Richard Williams, to discuss a possible merger (file: Meeting Minutes, 17 July 1986). In September, Geer and Roy Sebastian met to discuss the proposal and arranged to meet again in December. The Eastern Pequot Tribal Council thanked Sebastian for "his tactful efforts in talking with Geer" (ibid.:2 September 1986) and agreed that "an equal merge[r]" was acceptable (ibid.:2 December 1986).<sup>34</sup> There was apparently a meeting involving a larger number of the members of the Eastern Pequot Tribe and the LeGault faction in late December 1986 or early January 1987, with a special merger meeting scheduled at Roy Sebastian's home for 13 January (ibid.:6 January 1987). In February, however, Geer notified the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council that his group had rejected the proposed merger and that he had resigned as chairman (ibid.:24 February 1987). It was about this time that Agnes Cunha assumed leadership of the LeGault faction [hereinafter, the LeGault/Cunha faction]. Its opposition to the Eastern Pequot Tribe continued and intensified.

There are a number of instances where the Eastern Pequot Tribe has attempted to resolve the dispute between itself and the LeGault/Cunha faction. A call for unification was made by Roy Sebastian following the 1987 court decision which upheld the Sebastian family's claims to membership in the Eastern Pequot Tribe (*New London Day*, 29 July 1987). In 1991, at an October hearing before the CIAC, the Eastern Pequot Tribe declared that it was "willing to have an open election if Mrs. Cunha's side is willing to negotiate" (*New London Day*, 12 October 1991), an offer that was rejected out of hand (ibid.).

Cunha's attacks on the Eastern Pequot Tribe continued. For instance, Cunha declared that Tamer Brushel was black and "a prostitute placed on the reservation by a state-appointed overseer" (*Hartford Courant*, 28 October 1991). She also "accused the Eastern Pequots of falsifying Brushel's [*sic*] wedding and death certificates" (*ibid.*). Eddie Brown, then Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, reported that in correspondence to him, Cunha had repeated some of these allegations, along with others regarding state officials, which included charges of negligence. In addition, she had accused "individuals who are not members" of her group [the Sebastian family] of trespass and the falsification of documents (Brown to Weicker 1992; Brown to Cunha 1992).

The Eastern Pequots have attempted to resolve this dispute in a number of ways. First, they have provided ample documentation that Tamer Brushell was indeed an Eastern Pequot, fully recognized as such in her own time, and since. In addition to Tamer's birth, marriage and death records (see genealogies based on overseer's lists, Criterion B, above, they cite numerous public records, such as the 1915 newspaper article in which Tamer was described as having "the pure blood of the Pequot Indians in her veins," (EP files, folder marked Criterion E).

In 1993 the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council sent a letter to Cunha, appealing for all qualified members of her group to submit their genealogical documentation to be included in the tribe's petition for acknowledgment (Eastern Pequot Tribal Council to Ms. Cunha and family 1993). The following year, the Eastern Pequots announced tribal elections and invited the members of the LeGault/Cunha faction to participate. They refused (*Norwich Bulletin*, 13 July 1994).

Throughout the 1990s the Eastern Pequot Tribe continued to carry the vast majority of the LeGault/Cunha faction, individuals who had never requested formally that they be disenrolled, on its membership rolls. On 5 October 1997, in an attempt to ensure that its rolls were complete and accurate, the tribe placed announcements in several local newspapers requesting that "members of the Paucatuck Eastern Pequot Tribe," the LeGault/Cunha faction, "reaffirm their membership in the Eastern Pequot Tribe" (Sebastian to Reckord 1997). As a consequence of this action, the Eastern Pequot Tribe's membership roll is now complete and up-to-date; individuals belonging to the LeGault/Cunha faction have been disenrolled from the Eastern Pequot Tribe.

On 23 September, just prior to the publication of the newspaper announcement noted above, a meeting was held between representatives of the Eastern Pequot Tribe and the LeGault/Cunha faction (file: Meeting Minutes, 30 September 1997). The meeting had been called to explore the possibility of unifying the faction with the tribe. This attempt at reconciliation, however, failed.

This examination of the emergence and history of the LeGault/Cunha faction, and the actions it has taken in its interactions with the Eastern Pequot Tribe, the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council, and the state of Connecticut, establishes the following points:

1. From 1683 until the present, there has existed but one Eastern Pequot Tribe.
2. Until 1973 and the creation of the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council, there is no record of a membership dispute in the Eastern Pequot Tribe.
3. Disputes that did arise, which are documented from 1929, were between individuals and families in the tribe who resided on the Eastern Pequot reservation.

4. In early 1976 a faction of the Eastern Pequot Tribe, the LeGault/Cunha faction, defected and formed a separate Indian organization called "The Authentic Eastern Pequots."
5. As early as 1975 the Eastern Pequot Tribe and its leadership have indicated to the LeGault/Cunha faction that reconciliation was not only possible, but desirable. There is an unambiguous record from 1975 to the present of offers to reunite the tribe, without prejudice to members of the LeGault/Cunha faction.

## **Political Authority in the Contemporary Eastern Pequot Tribe: 1973 to 1997**

In the mid-1970s a constitutional form of government was instituted by the Eastern Pequot Tribe. Members of the Sebastian family were active in helping to form this government and played a leadership role in its early years. This formalization of the tribe's system of political authority was a response to the state's insistence that Connecticut tribes "organize themselves," primarily for what are now recognized to have been the misguided purposes of the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council (CIAC).<sup>35</sup> From the outset, the Eastern Pequot Tribe stood alone in its opposition to the CIAC — a non-tribal body created and sanctioned by the state — and its efforts to regulate, manage, and influence internal tribal affairs, thus violating tribal sovereignty.

### ***Tribal Officers - 1976 to the Present***

Below is a roster of tribal officers, elected by the tribal membership pursuant to the bylaws of the Eastern Pequot Tribe, from 1976 to the present (see file: Meeting Minutes):

- 1976     Board of Directors: William Sebastian, Kathy Sebastian, Larry Sebastian, Charlie Lewis, Doris Cook, Donald Sebastian, Eleanor Manson, Roy Sebastian (Acting President). [As of 2/76]
- Board of Directors: William O. Sebastian, Benjamin Sebastian, Eleanor Manson, Donald Sebastian, James Jones, Jr., Katherine Sebastian, Doris Cook, Lawrence Sebastian, Charles Lewis, Arthur Sebastian, Alton Smith, Calvin Sebastian, Roy Sebastian (Acting President). [As of 5/76]
- Election results, 7/76: Roy Sebastian, President; William O. Sebastian, Vice President; Donald Sebastian, Treasurer; Katherine Sebastian, Secretary; Board members - Arthur Sebastian, Lawrence Sebastian, Eleanor Manson, James Jones, Jr., Doris Cook
- Election results, 12/76: Roy Sebastian, President; William O. Sebastian, Vice President; Donald Sebastian, Treasurer; Katherine Sebastian, Secretary; Board members - Arthur Sebastian, Lawrence Sebastian, Eleanor Manson, James Jones, Jr., Doris Cook.
- 1978     Election results, 8/78: R(oy) Sebastian, President; B(ill) Sebastian, Vice President; D(onald) Sebastian, Treasurer; G(eneva) Sebastian, Secretary; Board

- members - Doris Cook, Eustace Lewis, Lawrence Wilson, Charlie Lewis, Gladys Hunt.
- 1979 Roy Sebastian, President; Donald Sebastian; Billy Sebastian; Gladys Hunt; Doris Cook; Geneva Sebastian; Eustace Lewis; Lawrence Wilson, Jr.
- 1980 Election results, 7/80: Roy Sebastian, President; Doris Cook, Vice President; Lawrence Wilson, Treasurer; Dawn Sebastian, Secretary; Board of Directors - Shelly Jones, Edith Jordon, William Sebastian, Michael Jones, Doris Blanco.
- 1981 Board members: Roy Sebastian (President), Lawrence Sebastian, Doris Blanco, Edith Jordan, Shelly Jones, Bill Sebastian, Jr., Dawn Sebastian, Michael Jones.
- 1983 Election results, 7/83: Roy Sebastian, President; William Sebastian, Sr., Vice President; Doris Cook, Secretary; Lawrence Wilson, Treasurer.
- Roy Sebastian appointed Chief Hackeo of the Eastern Pequot Tribe.
- 1984 Roy Sebastian, Chairman; William Sebastian, Vice Chairman; Doris Cook, Secretary; Lawrence Wilson, Treasurer; Council members - William Sebastian, Jr., Winnie Jones, Dolores Hamlin, Davida Hamlin, Dawnrea Sebastian.
- 1985 Board members: Roy Sebastian, Dawn Sebastian, Darien Hearn, Larry Wilson, William Sebastian, Sr., Winnie Jones, Bill Sebastian, Jr., Doris Cook, Donald Sebastian, Calvin Sebastian.
- 1986 Board members: Roy Sebastian, Doris Cook, Bill Sebastian, Sr., Lawrence Wilson, Delores Hamlin, Winnie Jones, Dawn Sebastian, Bill Sebastian, Sr., Geneva Sebastian, John Perry, Shelly Jones, Darien Hearn.
- 1987 Board members: Roy Sebastian, Shelley Jones, Winnie Jones, Dawnrea Sebastian, Darien Hearn, Ashbow (Sebastian), Bill Sebastian, John Perry, Kathy Sebastian, Geneva Sebastian.
- 1988 Board members: Roy Sebastian, Bill Sebastian, Donald Sebastian, Debra Ricketts, Winnie Jones, John Perry, Geneva Sebastian, Ashbow (Sebastian), Dawnrea Rocha.
- 1989 Board members: Roy Sebastian, Bill Sebastian, John Perry, Dawnrea Sebastian, Geneva Sebastian, Winnie Jones, Ashbow Sebastian, Donald Sebastian, Debra Ricketts.
- 1990 Roy Sebastian, Chairman; Larry Sebastian, Vice Chairman; Geneva Sebastian, Secretary; Dawn Rochea, Treasurer; council - Mary Reveter, Delores Hamlin, Winifred Jones, Virginia Lewis, Mark Sebastian.
- 1991 Roy Sebastian, Chairman; Lawrence Sebastian, Vice Chairman; Geneva Sebastian, Secretary; Dawnrea Rocha, Treasurer; council - Winifred Jones, Mary (Sebastian) Reveter (Assistant Secretary); Dolores (Sebastian) Hamlin; Virginia Lewis, Mark Sebastian.

- 1992 Roy Sebastian, Delores Hamlin, Larry Sebastian, Mark Sebastian, Mary (Sebastian) Reveter, Winifred Jones, Dawn Rocha, Virginia Lewis, Geneva Sebastian, Donald Sebastian, Shela Jones.
- Slate of officers listed during Annual Meeting, 7/92: Roy Sebastian, Chairman; Mark Sebastian, Vice Chairman; Geneva Sebastian, Secretary; Winifred Jones, Treasurer; Council members - Mary Sebastian, Ron Jackson, Jamel Hamlin, Eustace Lewis, Jr., John Cook.
- 1993 Roy Sebastian, Geneva Sebastian, Mary Sebastian, Mark Sebastian, John Cook, Winifred Jones, Ron Jackson, Jamel Hamlin, Ashbow Sebastian, Eustace Lewis.
- 1994 Roy Sebastian, Mary Sebastian, Mark Sebastian, Winifred Jones, Tjamel Hamlin, Eustace Lewis, Geneva Sebastian, Ashbow (Sebastian), John Cook, Lone Wolf (Ron) Jackson.
- Election results, 8/94: Roy Sebastian, Mark Sebastian, Mary Sebastian, Tom Perry, Sr., Tom Perry, Jr., Alton Smith, Jr., Winifred Jones, Tjamel Hamlin, Eustace Lewis, Geneva Sebastian.
- 1995 Councilors: Thomas Perry, Sr., Geneva Sebastian, Mark Sebastian, Winifred Jones, Mary Sebastian, Alton Smith, Eustace Lewis, Tjamel Hamlin, Thomas Perry, Jr., Roy Sebastian.
- 1996 Councilors: Mark Sebastian, Mary Sebastian, Roy Sebastian, Geneva Sebastian, Thomas Perry I, Tjamel Hamlin, Thomas Perry II, Winifred Jones, Alton Smith, Jr.
- Councilors: Darlene Hamlin, Lynn Powers, Marcia Flowers, Lawrence Wilson III, Mary Sebastian, Winifred Jones, Mark Sebastian, and Geneva Sebastian. Alternate: Thomas Perry I.
- 1997 Councilors: Roy Sebastian, Mark Sebastian, Mary Sebastian, Lynn Powers, Darlene Hamlin, Marcia Flowers, Winifred Jones, Thomas Perry, Geneva Sebastian, Lawrence Wilson III.
- Roy Sebastian, Chief; Mary Sebastian, Chairperson; Mark Sebastian, Vice Chairman; Dawn Rae Rocha, Secretary; Ron Lone Wolf Jackson, Treasurer; Councilors - Lynn Powers, Marcia Flowers, Darlene E. Hamlin, Lawrence E. Wilson, III, Tom Perry, Sr. [As of the July 1997 tribal elections]

### ***Summary of Business Conducted by the Eastern Pequot Tribe***

What follows is a summary of the business conducted by the Eastern Pequot Tribe and the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council. For the complete record of tribal business, please refer to the file, "Meeting Minutes." *Please note:* Portions of meeting minutes, where issues considered to be of a sensitive or confidential nature by the Eastern Pequot Tribal Council were discussed, have been redacted.

This summary of tribal business contains numerous examples of bilateral political relationships obtaining between leaders and the general membership, including, but not restricted to: (1) organizing the tribe's annual powwow; (2) holding elections and seating tribal officers; (3) dispute resolution; (4) banishing and reinstating individual tribal members who had violated the tribe's rules and regulations; (5) assessing and collecting membership dues; (6) organizing protests to the actions of the state and local governments (e.g., cutting of timber on the reservation, opposing the actions of the CIAC, disputing the town's right to tax tribal members); (7) directing tribal members to clean up their property; (8) issuing and enforcing hunting and fishing regulations, and dog control ordinances; (9) organizing work parties of tribal members to raze a burned home, for example, and to maintain the powwow grounds, reservation cemeteries, and tribal buildings; (10) assigning influential individuals to insure that other tribal members are kept informed about tribal business; and (11) directing the building and repair of private roads on the reservation. In addition, the tribal council regulates housing on the reservation. It accepts and rules on applications by tribal members to live on the reservation, allots home and building lots, and regulates home repairs and upkeep.

In each of the above cases, the minutes of tribal meetings and interviews conducted indicate that the various directives issued, the efforts to organize tribal members for special purposes, and the attempts to regulate the conduct of tribal members, all resulted in reciprocal responses from the membership. That is, there is strong evidence that a bilateral political system is functioning in the Eastern Pequot Tribe (Starna 1997).

## 1976

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2/29 *Tribal meeting:* Steering committee working on membership list. Discussions on bylaws, incorporation procedures, tribal structure, current issues, request by the "EPA" [Department of Environmental Protection] of Connecticut to cut trees on tribal land. Letters to be written opposing the procedures of the Connecticut Indian Affairs Council [CIAC]. Tribe has protested that Helen Legault was "illegally appointed the representative of the Eastern Pequot Tribe." Living arrangements on the reservation discussed.

\* Routine business was conducted at this and the meetings that follow.

*Please note:* "Routine business" consists of the approval of the minutes of previous meetings, and the reports of the secretary and the treasurer, in addition to activities such as paying invoices, purchasing office supplies, and the like. For the purposes of this summary, the special recognition of tribal members, sending get well cards to the ill, presenting donations to families, and delivering greetings to new parents, which are all frequent occurrences, are also viewed as routine business (refer to file: Meeting Minutes, for details). Routine business is an integral component of each of the meetings of the tribe and the tribal council, and while not mentioned specifically in the below listed meeting summaries, it should nonetheless be understood to have taken place.

- 3/12 *Board meeting:* Letters of protest sent to Keleher of the CIAC concerning expenditures made for Rachel Krum without the tribe's approval and the cutting of trees by DEP without the tribe's permission. The tribe has forwarded its bylaws, tribal structure, membership rolls, and business procedures to the CIAC, as requested. The tribe decides to let the CIAC handle the Krum issue and restates its decision not to permit tree-cutting on the reservation.
- 3/28 *Board meeting:* Discussions on state and CIAC recognition, and the environmental study of Long Pond. Tribal member asks to gather information on the customs, regalia, and culture of the tribe. Discussion on the need for Helen Legault to return tribal records to the tribe. Preparations begin for the July Annual Meeting. CETA program discussed. Request to be sent to the CIAC to obtain information on a feasibility study of reservation lands.
- 4/16 *Board meeting:* Discussions on CETA, the removal of old trucks and cars from the reservation, exemptions for the annual membership fee (for those who cannot afford it), and meeting procedures. Request made by letter to Helen Legault to return tribal records discussed. Request made to CIAC for its records on the tribe. Helen Legault's representation of the tribe discussed.
- 5/6 *Board meeting:* Discussions on the financial statement received from CIAC and letters regarding the hearing. Membership forms to be completed. Review of tribe's financial statement provided by the CIAC. CIAC hearing [re membership] discussed. Legault has requested her organization be recognized. Eastern Pequot disapprove of the scheduled hearing. Tribe to respond to letter-to-the-editor that appeared in *The Mystic Compass*. Suggestion made to request an investigation of the scheduled hearing.
- 5/16 Social gathering where the tribe's Board of Directors were introduced: Roy Sebastian, Jr., Acting president, William O. Sebastian, Benjamin Sebastian, Eleanor Manson, Donald Sebastian, James Jones, Jr., Katherine Sebastian, Doris Cook, Lawrence Sebastian, Charles Lewis, Arthur Sebastian, Alton Smith, Calvin Sebastian. 120 people in attendance.
- 5/28 *Board meeting:* Discussions on the CIAC's and Legault's place on the Indian Affairs Council. Letter received from Helen Legault explaining "her interpretation of the representative's duties . . . and [which] stated that if we [the Eastern Pequot Tribe] wanted any information about the business of the Indian Affairs Council, we should go to the monthly meetings." Tribe to send a representative to attend CIAC meetings.
- 6/9 *Board meeting:* CIAC monthly meeting discussed. Tribal representatives had opposed the hearing, but the CIAC was going to go ahead. Tribe requested all information that the CIAC has on the tribe. General tribal meeting to be scheduled concerning the upcoming hearing.



- 6/22 *Board meeting:* Discussions on the CIAC, the upcoming hearing, and documenting tribal genealogies.
- 6/27 *Emergency board meeting:* Discussions on the CIAC, the hearing, the course of action to be taken by tribe, and the documentation of the tribe's genealogies. In March, the tribe submitted a packet to the CIAC containing the tribe's bylaws, structure, and membership list. CIAC did not respond. LeGault allegedly submitted her materials in April for "The Authentic Eastern Pequots." Hearing scheduled for the last week in June. Will ask for donations from tribal members to pay for legal assistance. Elections to be scheduled.
- 7/25 *Annual meeting:* 40 members present. Meeting's purpose: elections of officers and the board, review of CIAC issues, and reports from committees. Decision made to schedule elections. While an alternate on the CIAC in 1973, Alton Smith, a tribal member, had protested LeGault representing the tribe. LeGault never contacted the Sebastian family about tribal business. Alton indicated that the reasons the public hearing had been scheduled was because two organizations had requested acknowledgment as the Eastern Pequot Tribal Organization.
- Election results put in the record: Roy Sebastian, President; William O. Sebastian, Vice President; Treasurer, Donald Sebastian; Secretary, Katherine Sebastian; board members - Arthur Sebastian, Lawrence Sebastian, Eleanor Manson, James Jones, Jr., Doris Cook.
- 8/7 *Agenda:* Discussions on legal actions to be taken concerning the hearing, the hearing itself, and financial support.
- 9/26 *Agenda:* Update on CIAC; discussions on bylaws and the October festival (fund raiser).
- 10/20 *Agenda:* Discussions on amending the bylaws, the CIAC, the tribal attorney's concerns, the schedule for board of directors's meetings, and fund-raising.
- 12/19 *Tribal meeting:* This meeting was held for the lineal descendants of Marlboro Gardner and Tamer Brushel to put together a membership list. Determination of voting members. A slate of officers was elected: Roy Sebastian, President; William O. Sebastian, Vice President; Donald Sebastian, Treasurer; Katherine Sebastian, Secretary; Board members - Arthur Sebastian, Lawrence Sebastian, Eleanor Manson, James Jones, Jr., Doris Cook.

## 1977

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- 5/22 *Meeting:* Discussions on the CIAC and the hearings (1st and 2nd), and fund raising.

- 7/31 *Annual meeting:* Issues presented included the tribe's financial statement, tribal genealogies, membership, and legal status.

## 1978

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- 7/30 *Annual meeting:* 37 members present. Elections: R(oy) Sebastian, President; B(ill) Sebastian, Vice President; D(onald) Sebastian, Treasurer; G(eneva) Sebastian, Secretary; Board members - Doris Cook, Eustace Lewis, Lawrence Wilson, Charlie Lewis, Gladys Hunt.
- 8/11 Notice of monthly board meetings.

## 1979

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- 9/? *Monthly meeting:* Annual meeting a success. Discussions on membership, court case (CIAC). Committee appointments made (publicity, bylaws, recreation & social, native cultural, ways and means).

## 1980

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- 7/27 *Annual meeting:* 21 members present. Appeal on documentation to be made to CIAC, also, for a reversal of the decision. 1980-81 to be a year focusing on arts and crafts. Elections held: Roy Sebastian, President; Doris Cook, Vice President; Lawrence Wilson, Treasurer; Dawn Sebastian, Secretary; Board members - Shelly Jones, Edith Jordon, William Sebastian, Michael Jones, Doris Blanco.
- 9/9 *Meeting:* Committees appointed. Decision to reapply to the CIAC to recognize the tribe as "league of Eastern Pequot Indians."

## 1981

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- 1/5 *Meeting:* Powwow preparation to begin. Committee reports presented.
- 5/19 *Meeting:* Discussions on membership, CIAC, cleanup day.
- 6/2 *Meeting:* Presentation of CIAC and committee reports. Discussions on arts and crafts, powwow.
- 8/4 *Meeting:* Discussions on the powwow, CIAC, banks, culture committee, new member.
- 9/24 *Meeting:* Helen LeGault to be visited by a tribal committee. Discussions on the 1980 filing and the CIAC.
- 10/7 *Meeting:* CIAC discussed.

## 1982

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- 2/2 *Meeting:* Membership cards discussed.
- 3/2 *Meeting agenda:* Old business: federal acknowledgment, ID cards, CIAC. New business: genealogy, appeal of CIAC decision, committee reports, powwow planning.
- n.d. *Meeting agenda:* Old business: genealogies, status letter to CIAC. New business: genealogy, reservation cleanup, powwow committees, committee reports.
- 7/5 *Election Announcement* (for the annual meeting).
- 8/10 *Tribal meeting:* Discussions on eviction notice served on a tribal member by Ray Geer (which would be protested), CIAC, appeal made to CIAC by the tribe. Alternate board member appointed.
- 8/29 *Special meeting:* Discussions on electing a representative and an alternate to send to the CIAC meetings in Hartford. LeGault still seated on the CIAC.
- 9/14 *Meeting:* Old business: Review of CIAC meeting, that the CIAC agreed to try and delay the eviction notice for 60 days. A hearing has been granted the tribe. Discussion on the tribal rolls. New business: Tribe to be informed of the CIAC hearing.
- 10/17 *Special meeting:* Discussion on eviction notice served on tribal member. All members to write out what they remember about the reservation customs, practices and usages of tribal land.
- 10/? *Meeting:* Old business: report of CIAC, LeGault suggests that Larry Sebastian, the subject of the eviction notice, apply for tribal membership. Tribal member recognized for her contributions to the tribe.
- 11/2 *Meeting:* Review CIAC meeting, genealogies, fund raising.
- 12/2 *Meeting:* Discussions on the CIAC and its hearing. Newsletter to be sent to members.

## 1983

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- 1/13 *Board meeting:* Preparations for annual meeting discussed, along with annual dues, arts and crafts work projects.
- Open meeting:* Discussions on bias and racial overtones at CIAC hearings, state genealogical records.
- “There can only be one nation of Eastern Pequots. No divisions.”
- 2/1 *Meeting:* Discussions on newsletter, CIAC appeal, tax stamp, annual powwow. Memorial service for Lula Eleazer.

- 3/9 *Meeting:* Review of CIAC meeting. Discussions on spring social, powwow planning. Memorial service held for Marion Lewis.
- 4/12 *Meeting:* Discussions on CIAC hearing, updating tribal rules and regulations. Special powwow meeting scheduled.
- 5/2 *Meeting:* Old business: arts and crafts. New business: letter sent to Ray Geer stating that the tribe "would not honor ban [evictions] on reservation." CIAC hearing.
- 6/? *Special meeting:* Discussions on the CIAC and hearing.
- 6/2 *Meeting:* CIAC discussed. Tribal meeting before powwow may be scheduled.
- 6/21 *Meeting:* Discussions on the Eastern Pequots and the Pawcatuck Pequots.
- 7/25 *Annual meeting:* Old business: elder ceremony, heritage talk, memorial ceremony. New business: Election of officers - Roy Sebastian, President; William Sebastian, Sr., Vice President; Doris Cook, Secretary; Lawrence Wilson, Treasurer.
- 7/31 *Annual meeting:* Roy Sebastian officially appointed Chief Hackeo of the Eastern Pequot Tribe.
- 8/4 *Meeting:* Routine tribal business.
- 8/19 *Special meeting:* Discussions on CIAC, Helen LeGault, appeal for a hearing.
- 9/? *Special meeting:* To organize October Harvest Festival.
- 9/7 *Meeting:* Routine tribal business.
- 10/2 *Meeting:* Harvest festival discussed.
- 11/2 *Meeting:* Review of the Harvest festival, member volunteers to chair the committee to look out for sick tribal members. Upcoming CIAC meeting discussed. Membership list to be maintained. Federal acknowledgment to be considered.
- 12/6 *Meeting agenda:* Update CIAC decision, celebration.

## 1984

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- 1/23 *Special meeting:* CIAC hearing discussed. Pawcatuck Pequot seat vacated because they failed to satisfy the CIAC requirement under 47-59B.
- 2/7 *Meeting:* Geer's court case and upcoming CIAC meeting discussed.
- 2/26 *Sovereignty Day:* Description of this celebration provided.
- 3/7 *Meeting:* Fund raising event to be sponsored by tribe's young adults. Plans made for International Food festival.

- 4/4 *Meeting:* CIAC meeting to be held in Hartford. Sovereignty day report presented.
- 5/2 *Meeting:* CIAC discussed. Indian Day to be held. Newsletter discussed.
- 6/6 *Meeting:* Membership list presented to the CIAC. Work on federal acknowledgment to be completed. ID cards to be printed.
- 6/12 *Special meeting:* Discussions on powwow and election.
- 7/10 *Meeting:* Discussion on police jurisdiction.
- 7/22 *Special meeting:* CIAC and police jurisdiction discussed.
- 7/28 *Annual meeting:* Court case and DEP ruling discussed. Reservation rules and regulations read.
- 8/6 *Meeting:* State police jurisdiction discussed.
- 8/9 *Meeting:* CIAC and jurisdiction discussed.
- 8/15 *Special meeting:* Discussions on annual meeting, permission for a home on the reservation to be occupied, payment of dues.
- 9/5 *Meeting:* Permission to occupy a home on the reservation granted. Further discussion on residency on the reservation. No drinking to be permitted on the reservation during powwows or special meetings.
- 9/18 *Special meeting:* Discussions on elections, committees.
- 10/9 *Meeting:* CIAC and jurisdiction discussed. Rules and regulations of residency to be discussed at the next meeting.
- 11/7 *Meeting:* Committee to revise bylaws, and rules and regulations of reservation. CIAC update. Nominations requested from tribal members. List of officers: Roy Sebastian, Chairman; William Sebastian, Vice Chairman; Doris Cook, Secretary; Lawrence Wilson, Treasurer; Council members - William Sebastian, Jr., Winnie Jones, Dolores Hamlin, Davida Hamlin, Dawrea Sebastian.
- 12/9 *Meeting agenda:* To write up organization, duties of officers, and bylaws of tribe. To be filed with CIAC. Review court cases.

## 1985

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- 1/9 *Meeting:* Reports distributed on membership, residency and use of the reservation, and reservation expansion and development. Letter to be written protesting the CIAC minutes of 15 December, which contain "slanderous statements." To develop mailing list of members. To schedule a tribal meeting on the newsletter. Illegal hunting reported on the reservation.
- 2/13 *Meeting:* CIAC meeting was canceled. No hunting signs to be posted on the reservation. Court case discussed.

- 2/21 *Special meeting:* Routine tribal business.
- 7/28 *Annual meeting:* Court case discussed. Proposal made to have an election that includes both sides. Powwow discussed.

## 1986

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- 2/18 *Meeting:* CIAC update. Update of tribal laws and amendments. Election to be discussed.
- 3/4 *Meeting:* Letter sent to CIAC to correct minutes. Attended CIAC meeting. To issue post cards; to call for tribal meeting to update laws. Discussion and hearing regarding a dispute between tribal members. One member banished from the tribe for one year.
- 3/26 *Meeting:* List of family members presented who would be responsible to call other family members to keep them informed on tribal business. Reservation resident to be told to clean up his property. Issue of burned-out home on the reservation was discussed.
- 5/7 *Meeting:* CIAC, Superior Court notice, bills to be paid, reservation homes discussed. Deceased tribal member's ashes to be scattered on the reservation. Letter drafted to reservation resident to clean up his property.
- 6/10 *Meeting:* Payment of bills, prepare for various legislative actions, set meeting to plan the powwow and elections, toilet on reservation to be rebuilt, complaints about dogs running loose. Two council members to investigate this matter.
- 6/17 *Special meeting:* Powwow and elections discussed.
- 7/17 *Meeting:* Report on special meeting presented. Powwow planning discussed. Report presented on the investigation of complaints about reservation residents. Meeting to be held with Raymond Geer and Richard Williams.
- 8/31 *Meeting:* Annual powwow report presented. Court case discussed. R. Sebastian explained the proposed merger of the two tribes. Meeting held with Ray Geer on 13 August. Letters concerning delinquent dues sent out. Federal acknowledgment discussed.
- 9/2 *Meeting:* Meeting with Ray Geer scheduled for 20 October. Roy is thanked for "his tactful efforts in talking with Geer." Council to discuss proposed merger. Dispute between tribal members on reservation was worked out. Council is thanked.
- 10/7 *Meeting:* Federal acknowledgment discussed. ANA application requested. Next meeting with Geer to be held on 8 October.
- 11/30 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment and proposed merger discussed. Reinstatement of banished tribal member discussed.

- 12/2 *Council meeting:* Membership and federal acknowledgment discussed. "Equal merge[r] is fine. Sit down with the two (2) boards, then get into the fine details." Meeting with Geer to be held on 4 December. Banished tribal member reinstated.

## 1987

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- 1/6 *Council meeting:* "Roy said, 'I am very proud of my council', for attending the meeting of the two tribes." Court case discussed. Special merger meeting set for 13 January at Roy's house. ANA funding was discussed.
- 2/17 *Special meeting:* New court date set. Proposed agreement for proposed merger drafted.
- 2/24 *Special meeting:* "Ray Geer called and [said he had] resigned as Chairman of Paucatuck Pequots. His tribe rejected the merger." Court case discussed.
- 3/24 *Council meeting:* Discussions on federal acknowledgment, ANA, CIAC, dues.
- 4/14 *Council meeting:* Discussions on federal acknowledgment, ANA, possible land claim. Elders to be contacted once a month. CIAC meeting to be held.
- 5/12 *Council meeting:* [page 1 missing] Road and drains on reservation road to be inspected. Letters sent to CIAC and DEP. Spring Indian Festival planned.
- 6/9 *Council meeting:* Social meeting discussed ["Spring Indian Festival"]. Tribal member to be contacted about the condition of his property. Permission given to erect wigwam on the reservation. CIAC discussed - it is in disarray.
- 8/4 *Council meeting:* Special meetings planned for elections and one was held with a "census awareness specialist." Upcoming powwow discussed. Tribal liaison selected. Plaque to be placed on a tree commemorating a deceased tribal member.
- 9/1 *Council meeting:* Routine tribal business.
- 9/15 *Special meeting:* Meeting on upcoming election.
- 9/27 *Annual meeting:* Upcoming election discussed. Elders recognized. Special awards presented. Past members honored.
- 10/6 *Special meeting:* Election information presented.
- 11/10 *Council meeting:* No trespassing signs posted on the reservation. Hunting on reservation to require the approval of the council. Letters sent to the CIAC and the state's attorney general informing them of the election results.

## 1988

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- 1/5 *Council meeting:* Routine tribal business.
- 3/1 *Council meeting:* CIAC representative named. Federal acknowledgment meeting planned.
- 4/13 *Council meeting:* Superior Court case won. Reservation resident has cleaned up his property and will appear before the tribal council.
- 6/7 *Council meeting:* Court case update. Residency applications discussed.
- 7/5 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment to be placed on the agenda. Review of membership to take place in January.
- 8/2 *Council meeting:* Powwow a big success. Federal acknowledgment meeting planned. Application for residency on reservation received. Fruit trees on powwow grounds to be pruned.
- 9/6 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment meeting is scheduled. Special meeting to be held on housing.

## 1989

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- 1/10 *Meeting:* Sonny Sebastian, a Mashantucket Pequot whose house had burned, was sent money by the tribe as a gesture of aid. Sonny's father, William E. Sebastian, Sr., is an Eastern Pequot.
- 2/1 *Council meeting:* Hunting and fishing permits are ready. Meeting scheduled on federal acknowledgment. Court case mentioned.
- 3/7 *Council meeting:* Acknowledgment and upcoming social is discussed. Anna Carpenter's burned house to be demolished. Work party organized; rubbish dumpster approved by council. Volunteers sought. Two council members attended a tribal member's wake. Sonny's house under repair. Two council members will attend 1990 census meeting in Baltimore. Housing discussed.
- 5/2 *Meeting:* Work party organized. Federal acknowledgment group has put materials together.
- 6/6 *Council meeting:* Access to reservation discussed. Requires council approval. Two weekend work parties organized. Newsletter with an announcement about dues to be sent out. Fund raisers discussed.
- 7/5 *Council meeting:* Acknowledgment petition discussed. Yard sale held. Upcoming powwow discussed. Complaint about [old, abandoned?] car on the reservation. Letter from Agnus Cunha was read. Council appoints two people to investigate complaints about dogs and horses.



- 7/30 *Annual meeting:* Discussions on the powwow and tribal business related to tribal unity.
- 8/8 *Council meeting:* Work to continue on cleaning up the reservation. Work party organized.
- 8/30 *Meeting:* General discussion on cleaning up the reservation. Members of work parties listed.
- 9/6 *Council meeting:* Court case discussed. No news on the 1990 census. No news on federal acknowledgment. Birth certificate "changeover" forms are ready. Sick members listed.
- 9/19 *Special council meeting:* Dues and reservation work discussed.
- 10/3 *Council meeting:* Court case, delinquent dues notices, land map, and the ANA grant discussed.
- 10/17 *Council meeting:* Mention made of federal acknowledgment, the ANA grant, delinquent dues, and craft production. Council member to be placed on the CIAC board. Work party organized to repair shed. Memorial for Bill Sebastian.
- 11/7 *Meeting:* Tribe received letter from Agnus Cunha concerning federal acknowledgment. Hunting and fishing licenses discussed. Non-Indians not permitted to hunt and fish. Shingles donated for a shed.
- 12/5 *Council meeting:* Routine tribal business.

**1990**

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- 1/16 *Special meeting:* Discussions on tribal name change and upcoming tribal meeting.
- 1/20 *Special meeting:* Letter received from state Attorney General. Members will lose rights if dues are not paid. Governor's package to be prepared. CIAC to be notified to make Ashbow an alternate.
- 2/6 *Meeting:* Discussions on name change and duties of the tribe on the Task Force. Court case mentioned. "Important business: Question for Tribal members...Do you want a home on the reservation" Help us help you."
- 2/12 *Tribal meeting:* Census discussed. Calls to renew tribal resolve.
- 3/8 *Council meeting:* 1990 census discussed. Program for children. CIAC in force for at least another year.
- 3/25 *Council meeting:* Discussion on federal acknowledgment. Committees to be appointed for this task. Work day organized, work parties listed. Elders offer their views regarding parking on the reservation.

- 3/30 *Special meeting*: Council members to visit with the elders to collect information on Eastern Pequot history.
- 4/5 *Council meeting*: History and records committee formed. Tax evaluation has taken place on the reservation. Task Force no longer in force. Federal acknowledgment discussed.
- 4/30 *Special meeting*: Visits with elders to collect history.
- 5/1 *Council meeting*: Meeting on federal acknowledgment. No report on court case. Equipment being sought for the tribal offices.
- 5/15 *Special meeting*: Question raised about tribal members attending council meetings. Museum proposed.
- 5/27 *Council meeting*: Elections to take place. Federal acknowledgment discussed.
- 6/1 *Council meeting*: Tribe will apply for an ANA grant to assist the federal acknowledgment effort. Court case discussed. Tribal meeting scheduled. Agenda set for this meeting. Human burials discovered at Long Pond.
- 6/10 *Tribal meeting*: Nominations opened for the election. Burials on Long Pond discussed.
- 6/12 *Meeting to discuss acknowledgment with a federal representative [by phone call]*: Little information gained from the federal person. General discussion on tribal history, membership lists.
- 6/29 *Special meeting*: Request made for temporary housing on the reservation.
- 7/17 *Special meeting*: Discussions on the burials on Long Pond, court case, payment of bills, the ANA grant proposal, workparty, and dedication ceremony.
- 7/30 *Annual meeting*: Reports on court case, federal acknowledgment. Put children on the rolls. Recognition for those people who helped clean up the reservation. Pay dues. Powwow held the day before.
- New Officers: Roy Sebastian, Chairman; Larry Sebastian, Vice Chairman; Geneva Sebastian, Secretary; Dawn Rochea, Treasurer; Council members - Mary Reveter, Delores Hamlin, Winifred Jones, Virginia Lewis, Mark Sebastian.
- 8/14 *Council meeting*: Discussions on how to improve the powwow and the ANA grant proposal.
- 9/4 *Council meeting*: Brief discussions on the ANA grant, federal acknowledgment, and the court case. Two council members attended 1990 census reception where awards were presented to the tribe. No news on the Task Force. Tribe to support candidate for state representative.
- 10/4 *Council meeting*: Discussions on the ANA proposal, community services and church work, report on Task Force meeting. Reservation needs to be main-

tained. Housing meeting to be on the November agenda. Federal acknowledgment meeting was held about the tribe's membership.

## 1991

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- 1/7 *Council meeting:* Discussions on the tribal newsletter, office equipment, and AID board election.
- 2/4 *Council meeting:* Updated tribal membership list to be forwarded to the governor. Letter on membership dues sent out to members. Discussions on Connecticut Indian Affairs Task Force, federal acknowledgment, and ANA application. Tribal cultural/social meeting called for the next Saturday on the reservation. Tribal member's ashes to be scattered on the reservation. Hunting and fishing permits are ready.
- 3/4 *Council meeting:* Discussions on the CIAC and state funding, federal acknowledgment, ANA, the tribal newsletter, and the CIAC Task Force. Proposals to be made on hunting and fishing on the reservation. Social gathering to be held on March 9.
- 4/8 *Council meeting:* Work party organized for April 27. Discussions on the CIAC, the Task Force, federal acknowledgment, housing, and revenue sharing.
- 5/6 *Council meeting:* General discussions concerned with the CIAC, federal acknowledgment, the Task Force, taxes, AID purchase of building for a tribal office, arts and crafts booth for the Sailfest.
- 5/25 *Spring Social meeting:* General announcements regarding tribal business. Suggestions made by tribal members for a day care center, a trading post, a childrens playground, and a hiking trip for the next powwow.
- 6/3 *Council meeting:* Discussions on the CIAC, the tribal social, the silica mine on Lantern Hill.
- 7/28 *Tribal meeting:* Yearly report given: eviction of a tribal member from the reservation, burial on Long Pond, parking on the reservation, and hunting and fishing licenses. Reports on the CIAC, federal acknowledgment, ANA, and a meeting quorum change.
- 9/9 *Council meeting:* Quorum change finalized. Newsletter to be mailed.
- 9/22 *Council meeting:* Discussion on the faction. Suggestion to establish a housing authority. Computer training classes to begin.
- 10/7 *Council meeting:* Powwow committee to be formed for 1992. CIAC meeting to be held. General tribal business conducted.
- 11/7 *Council meeting:* CIAC meeting canceled. Newsletter published. Council members met with the director of the University of Connecticut health and medical clinic.

- 1/6 *Council meeting*: Discussions on the upcoming CIAC meeting, Clan parents organization, building fund, newsletter, tax exempt numbers, housing grant. Tribal representatives attended reburial service at Long Pond. Mashantucket Pequots, Narragansetts, and Eastern Pequots discussing a joint powwow.
- 2/3 *Council meeting*: CIAC, HUD stalemate, newsletter, upcoming tribal meeting, and the three-tribe powwow discussed. Set tribal meeting agenda. Copies of amendments to the bylaws to be sent to all tribal members. The ANA meeting is set for the reservation.
- 2/16 *Council meeting*: "Difficulties at tribal meetings," and their solutions discussed, e.g., the presence of alcohol or drugs, respect of tribal council, time limits, agendas, yearly schedules. Also, discussions on the powwow committee, child and youth issues, music and drumming, elections and voting, by-law drafts, rules and regulations, reservation residency, and peace and understanding. Elders to be called upon for input.
- 3/2 *Council meeting*: Parking regulations on reservation discussed. Houses to be inspected and grave locations on the reservation to be checked.
- 4/6 *Meeting agenda* (minutes not in the record): Old business: HUD and FHA review, economic development reports, Algonquian powwow status, and Bylaws and Election committee agendas. New business: Work Day schedule, newsletter, and tribal meeting dates to be discussed. Also, federal acknowledgment.
- 4/20 *Council meeting*: Tribe joins the "Colonial Indian Research Group." Materials received from the FHA (housing). Plans for the three-tribe powwow canceled. Bylaws, elections, dues, IRS tax exempt status are discussed.
- 4/22 *Meeting*: Meeting with an ANA official on acknowledgment petition, status clarification, economic development, and raising funds.
- 5/11 *Council meeting*: Letter sent to tribal member to clean up home and leash dogs. Residents must abide by reservation rules and regulations. Roads must be accessible. Stamps and tribal seal discussed. Grave sites need to be cleared and fenced.
- 6/9 *Meeting agenda* (minutes not in the record): Old business: bylaws, powwow, newsletter, tribal meeting, civil court summons, police jurisdiction. New business: bills, tribal seal and stamp, reservation boundary markers, ANA report.
- 6/20-21 First Annual Inter-Nation Powwow — Narragansett and Pequot Nations Powwow.

- 7/15 *Council meeting*: The CIAC, elections, tentative powwow agenda, new bylaws, and dues discussed. Financial secretary appointed. Slate of officers identified. Temporary permit for an RV on the reservation approved.
- 7/26 *Meeting agenda* (minutes not in the record): Annual meeting. Elections and old business, e.g., court case, jurisdiction, the ANA, fund raisers, and bylaw changes.
- 8/3 *Meeting agenda* (minutes not in the record): Old business: tax exempt status, court summons, storage shed. New business: the CIAC, committees, ANA report.
- 9/8 *Meeting agenda* (minutes not in the record): Old business: the ANA trip, shed addition, CIAC newspaper article, court case, cake and arts and crafts sale. New business: bills, newsletter, fund raising, ANA, trailer insurance, DEP visit.
- 10/5 *Meeting agenda* (minutes not in the record): Old business: tribal seal, CIAC update, court case, newsletter, social. New business: fund raiser, bills, break-in at tribal member's home, ANA update.
- 11/2 *Meeting agenda* (minutes not in the record): Old business: CIAC, newsletter, fund raisers, update on tribal seal, trailer, and shed. New business: bills, removals from tribal rolls, ANA report.
- 12/7 *Meeting agenda* (minutes not in the record): Old business: CIAC, court case, newsletter, FHA meeting, fund raiser, tribal member's dogs. New business: pay bills, fund raiser, ANA update.

## 1993

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- 1/1 *Tribal meeting*: Bills paid.
- 2/1 *Council meeting*: Court case, tax exempt status, newsletter, and the dog issues discussed. Reservation day announced. Residency application reviewed. Grave sites to be surveyed. Ill tribal member requests to be buried on the reservation.
- 3/1 *Council meeting*: Federal acknowledgment and the ANA workshop discussed. Tribal grounds work-day postponed. Statue committee is at work.
- 4/5 *Council meeting*: Court case, economic development, newsletter, federal acknowledgment, and fund raisers discussed. Tribal member who does not control his dogs to be spoken to. Wigwam area is cleaned up. Statue committee report.
- 5/3 *Council meeting*: CIAC meeting and powwow plans discussed. Powwow committees formed. Reservation road is named "Tamer Brushel Road."

- 7/12 *Council meeting:* Tribe receives temporary tax exempt status. Powwow update. Tribal members arrested for blocking road work on the reservation. Tribe to pay for lawyer fees. ANA discussed. Tribal member assessed 16 hours of community service.
- 7/31-8/1 *Annual meeting and powwow:* Detailed description of the annual meeting and the powwow. Reports presented on two court cases, federal acknowledgment, the HUD grant, and economic development.
- 8/9 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment and a letter to Agnes Cunha discussed. Tribe to work on the ANA grant.
- 9/7 *Council meeting:* Newsletter, calendar, and attendance at Schemitzun discussed. New business concerns public relations, clean up on the reservation, and Pequot statue.
- 10/13 *Special tribal meeting:* Federal acknowledgment the subject of this meeting.
- 11/1 *Council meeting:* Discussion of the ANA grant and the purchase of the silica mine.
- 11/20 *Tribal meeting:* Tribal committees formed: Historical/Genealogical, Housing Authority, Police/Security, Newsletter/Tribal Communication, Tribal Resources. Announcement made that the HUD grant has been canceled.
- 12/7 *Council meeting:* ANA update, report on management and consulting agreement.
- 12/18 *Tribal meeting:* Federal acknowledgment discussed; also, the Task Force, economic development, boat building, and marketing of crafts.

**1994**

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- 1/22 *Tribal meeting:* General tribal business presented. The issue of tax exemption for members living on the reservation discussed.
- 2/7 *Council meeting:* Dispute among tribal members to be brought before the tribal council. Court case, ANA, and federal acknowledgment discussed. Arrangements to be made to keep road to tribal office plowed and sanded. Social service update needed. Sovereignty Day to celebrate its 10 year anniversary (February 28).
- 3/7 *Council meeting:* Tax exemption, ID cards, and the court case discussed.
- 3/26 *Tribal meeting:* Federal acknowledgment, historical survey, committee updates, land assessment, expansion of office, the tribe's legal/political agenda are discussed.
- 4/5 *Council meeting:* Tribal member refused tax exempt status on automobile. Tribe to protest bill pending in the state legislature. Grave sites to be cleaned up.

- 5/3 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment, ANA, newsletter, and the land use project are discussed. Tax exempt issue on automobile resolved in favor of the tribal member. Election committee appointed. Proposal made about logging a part of the reservation.
- 5/21 *Tribal meeting:* Satellite tribal office is opened. Discussions on federal acknowledgment, the 1994 powwow, report of the housing committee, tribal elections, residency tax exemption, work experience program, and the logging project.
- 6/7 *Council meeting:* Bylaw committee report. Tribal confederation discussed. Economic development plans discussed, along with federal acknowledgment and the ANA update. Two tribal members/employees suspended, without pay, for incident.
- 6/12 *Council meeting:* Upcoming powwow discussed. Election notices sent to Cunha family. Suggestion made to have a federal judge oversee the election. Special Tribal council hearing to be held to deal with a dispute. Council to address trespassing on waterfront property.
- 6/30 *Council meeting:* Land proposal on Watrous property discussed. Election committee formed. Powwow update.
- 6/30 *Special Tribal Meeting:* Land issue and amendments to bylaws discussed.
- 8/9 *Council meeting:* New council members introduced. Tribal council rules and regulations reviewed. Tribe's goals stated: federal acknowledgment, economic development, job training, social development. Tax issue, office procedures discussed.
- 9/13 *Council meeting:* ANA, federal acknowledgment, progress on tribal roll and oral history, telephone system, and economic development discussed. Tribe to support local political candidate.
- 9/24 *Tribal meeting:* Task force for economic development formed, along with constitution bylaws committee. Personnel committee report presented. Federal acknowledgment discussed.
- 10/11 *Council meeting:* Committee reports presented. Grant for drug, alcohol and tobacco program to be prepared. Recreation vehicle park to be discussed. Land use committee formed.
- 11/3 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment and the ANA grant are discussed.
- 11/12 *Tribal meeting:* ANA and federal acknowledgment update. Proposal to form an elders council. Election results discussed.
- 12/6 *Council meeting:* Discussions on payroll, court case, newsletter, and the elders committee.

## 1995

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- 1/7 *Meeting agenda:* Old business: ANA reports (project director, financial, and committee reports) and social services. New business: meeting with Mashantucket.
- 1/19 *Council meeting:* Discussions on the ANA grant, federal acknowledgment, census bureau update, request for reservation residency, and upcoming meeting. Small business opportunities to be explored.
- 2/20 *Council meeting:* Wuttooantam Foundation [provides assistance to elders and children] formed. Report on foundation board meeting. Federal acknowledgment and the tribe's petition discussed. Committee updates. Tribal membership meeting set for March.
- 3/20 *Council meeting:* Infrastructure Committee gives report. Housing rules and regulations, office staff, newsletter, economic development, and federal acknowledgment discussed.
- 4/1 *Tribal membership meeting:* General tribal business presented. Update from the Infrastructure and Bylaws committees. ANA grant and federal acknowledgment discussed. "Smoke-Free" project proposed for the tribe's teenagers.
- 4/22 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment petition ready to be submitted.
- 6/5 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment discussed. Personnel committee reports. 1995 powwow discussed.
- 6/17 *Tribal meeting:* Discussions on new ANA grant application and federal acknowledgment. Reports from the Infrastructure, Bylaws, Culture, and Housing committees. Report on the Wuttooantam Foundation. Volunteers sought for the upcoming powwow.
- 7/11 *Council meeting:* Reports on the ANA grant, federal acknowledgment, and economic development.
- 8/11 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment, ANA grant, housing, and taxes discussed. Council approved request by tribal member to be buried on the reservation.
- 9/7 *Council meeting:* General tribal business discussed.
- 9/23 *Tribal meeting:* ANA grant application, tribal tax status, and general tribal business discussed.
- 9/25 *Council meeting:* New office space approved. General tribal business discussed.
- 10/3 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment and general tribal business discussed.
- 10/12 *Special council meeting:* Environmental assessment discussed.
- 10/17 *Council meeting:* ANA grant application, federal acknowledgment, land status, tribal office complex, and voter registration all discussed. Tribal member requests assistance from the Wuttooantam Foundation.



- 11/7 *Council meeting:* Reports on federal acknowledgment and ANA grant.
- 11/18 *Council meeting:* Discussions on the ANA grant, federal acknowledgment, prescription health care, economic development, and land status.
- 11/28 *Council meeting:* General tribal business is discussed. Fund raiser to be held for the Wuttooantam Foundation.
- 12/12 *Council meeting:* General tribal business is conducted.

**1996**

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- 4/16 *Council meeting:* Letters of recommendation, internship, federal acknowledgment, economic development, ANA grants, all discussed.
- 4/20 *Meeting agenda:* Old business: federal acknowledgment update, ANA grant update, economic development, membership open house. New business: oral history luncheon, women's meeting group, burial ground, powwow committee, election committee.
- 4/29 *Meeting agenda:* Business: reports on budget, status of lawsuits, tribal advisory board, Dartmouth seminar, Tribal housing authority, newsletter, reservation maintenance, Tribal social, and ANA.
- 5/14 *Meeting agenda:* Old business: FACC update, elders council, letter to Cunha group regarding membership, cut off date for election candidacy, deadline for absentee ballots, BIA update. New business: employee contracts, policy and procedure manual, bylaws, NAIC letter, newsletter, open house.
- 6/4 *Council meeting:* Discussions on office staff salaries, age requirements for elders, bylaws, compiling birth certificates, and logging on the reservation.
- 6/11 *Meeting agenda:* Old business: FACC update, bylaws, election committee update, powwow update, DEP, Agnes Cunha update, logging update. New business: Native foster home, legal opinions, landscaping on the reservation, Wright House cultural center, powwow.
- 6/18 *Council meeting:* Reports on the tribe's bylaws, federal acknowledgment update, logging on the reservation, upcoming election, houses and other properties on Wintechog Hill.
- 6/25 *Council meeting:* Letters to DEP to be drafted regarding logging on the reservation. Reports presented on federal acknowledgment, the ANA grant, and the powwow. Notices of election to be sent out. Landscaping planned for powwow site and parking area.
- 7/16 *Council meeting:* Contract with NCNA and FACC to be drafted. Elders to hold meeting. Discussion on the powwow. Report on state police blocking access to the reservation. Discussion on logging and the construction of a stone wall on the reservation postponed until next meeting.

- 7/25 *Council meeting:* Discussion on the FACC contract. Updates and reports given on the powwow and the upcoming election. Concerns expressed about ill tribal members.
- 8/6 *Council meeting:* New councilors seated. Updates presented on logging the reservation, ANA grant, federal acknowledgment, economic development, land purchases, and residency on the reservation. New elders committee members: Gary Manson, Joyce Silva, and Maria Simmons. Qualifications for elder status discussed.
- 8/27 *Council meeting:* New elders to be selected at the next meeting. Discussions on old business, confidentiality contracts, anniversary booklet for the Pastor, tribal member's financial proposal.
- 9/7 *Special council meeting:* Discussions on FACC compliance, contract default, upcoming meeting, and financing of tribal member's proposal.
- 9/10 *Council meeting:* Old business: the FACC update, new bylaws meeting, legal committee update, the tribe's budget, and the development of an organizational chart. New business: Indian and Colonial Research Center pictures, review of new member applications.
- 9/17 *Council meeting:* Old business: FACC update, legal committee report, update on last weeks speakers. New business: resolution on camping on the reservation, new logging proposal, and a social service request.
- 9/24 *Council meeting:* Agenda set for the upcoming tribal meeting. Discussions on economic development and the tribe's bylaws.
- 10/8 *Council meeting:* Update on logging presented. Tribe to participate in and act as a sponsor for the American Indian Scouting Association Jamboree. Tribe receives a letter of endorsement from the Mohegan Tribe of Indians. Narragansett endorsement letter draft being prepared.
- 10/22 *Council meeting:* Update on logging presented. Discussions on Scouting Jamboree, elders hearing, and the tribe's genealogy. Tribe receives a letter of endorsement from the Mashantucket Pequots. Elders committee members: Betty Fletcher, Maria Simmons, and Joyce Silva. Tribe joins the local Chamber of Commerce.
- 10/29 *Council meeting:* Federal acknowledgment discussed. Councilors to prepare reports on meetings. Meeting on the tribe's bylaws set. Update on logging presented.
- 11/7 *Meeting agenda:* Business: tribal bylaws, FACC contract, tribal concerns.
- 11/19 *Meeting agenda:* Business: Fund raising, bill payments, tribal penal code.

- 12/3 *Meeting agenda:* Old business: Tribal contracts, ANA grant update. New business: Federal acknowledgment, Ashbow's food drive, Red Feather Communications, tribal Christmas party.
- 12/10 *Council meeting:* Discussions on tribal contracts, land update, federal acknowledgment, the scout jamboree, and the tribal Christmas party.
- 12/17 *Special council meeting agenda:* Business: ANA grant, indigenous games.

## 1997

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- 1/7 *Meeting agenda:* Old business: ANA report, land status, tribal bylaws, news article. New business: Calumet meeting, tribal membership meeting, public relations.
- 1/22 *Council meeting:* ANA questionnaire, upcoming meeting, scouting seminar, and women's circle discussed. Funeral for tribal member was discussed.
- 2/4 *Meeting agenda:* Business: Tribal finances, federal acknowledgment status report, Eastern Pequot construction review, tribal bylaws, HUD housing, ANA questionnaire, new council and tribal meeting dates.
- 2/11 *Council meeting:* Update on federal acknowledgment. Proposal for Eastern Pequot Construction Company discussed. Meeting on the tribe's bylaws is set. Report presented on scouting jamboree.
- 2/25 *Meeting agenda:* Business: tribal budget, review bylaws and ANA questionnaire, security system for the tribal offices.
- 3/6 *Meeting agenda:* Business: Budget and job descriptions, conduct/credibility of the council members, report on federal acknowledgment, ANA/SEDS grant report.
- 3/18 *Meeting agenda:* Business: Vote on the tribe's CEO, budget, and bylaws. Proposal for ethics code. Report on the ANA grant.
- 3/25 *Council meeting:* Membership guidelines discussed. Election meeting to plan set-up date. Proposal made to move tribal offices to the reservation Federal acknowledgment update presented.
- 4/8 *Council meeting:* Discussions on tribal office telephone system, leadership, conference at the University of Connecticut, Native American Awareness Day, ANA grant opportunities, and ANA survey.
- 4/15 *Council meeting:* Discussion on communication between the council and the tribal membership, economic development, tribal bylaws, and the tribal budget.
- 4/22 *Council meeting:* Upcoming meetings of the Chamber of Commerce and the tribal newsletter are discussed. Tribal social planned for May 17. Tribal Community Resource Director is named. Native American Day festivities to be held.

- 4/29 *Council meeting:* Discussions on the proposed Tribal Advisory Committee, economic development, and tribal budget. Reports presented on ANA and HUD grant opportunities. Reservation maintenance is proceeding as planned. Construction of a pavilion is discussed.
- 5/2 *Council meeting:* General tribal business.
- 6/17 *Meeting agenda:* Business: status of genealogies, Wright property, additional sources of funding, upcoming election/meeting, preparation for the upcoming powwow, proposed road repair, tribal newsletter, certification of the tribal membership list.
- 6/30 *Council meeting:* Review of Ashbow's petition. Tribal elections discussed. New tribal officers elected.
- 7/10 *Meeting agenda:* Business: Genealogy update, tribal membership decisions, powwow update, AISA update.
- 7/25 *Meeting agenda:* Business: Powwow update, FACC suit, certification of membership rules, absentee ballot update, Chief for Life resolution, petition update, agenda for tribal meeting.
- 8/5 *Council meeting:* Two new officers sworn in: Ron Jackson, Treasurer, and Dawnrae Rocha as Secretary. Discussions on associate tribal members, financial assistance for a needy tribal family, economic development, and the tribe's name. Election matters and the elders council were discussed.

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The evidence presented in this section, together with that found under criterion (b), demonstrates that the Eastern Pequot Tribe has maintained continuous political influence or authority over its membership at least from the time of the establishment of its reservation in 1683, up to and including the present.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>16</sup> The duties and responsibilities of overseers were viewed similarly by other Indian tribes in Connecticut. See, for example, Campisi (1990:126).
- <sup>17</sup> Franklin C. Williams was identified as "chief" in his obituary (*Westerly Sun*, 23 February 1949).
- <sup>18</sup> One tribal member described these contributions as a "tithe," which was informally assessed to those families who were relatively "well-off" (Starna 1997).
- <sup>19</sup> The reports of the overseers for these years were either never filed, were lost, or have been misplaced.
- <sup>20</sup> While the Eastern Pequot Tribe cooperated with the state by submitting copies of its rolls and bylaws, it did so voluntarily, rejecting outright requirements under Connecticut's General Statutes as an intrusion into its internal affairs and a violation of its sovereignty. See, for example, Eastern Pequot Tribal Council to Governor Lowell Weicker 1992, cover letter accompanying the submission of the tribe's rolls and bylaws to the state: "While we maintain the right to determine for ourselves who is qualified to be included on our tribal

rolls, we wish to make it clear that all persons included in this list have been determined by the tribal council to be documented lineal descendants of Eastern Pequot Indians." Also, Eastern Pequot Tribal Council to Governor Lowell Weicker 1993, cover letter accompanying the submission of the tribe's rolls and bylaws to the state: "Please be advised that the filing of these documents in no way acts as a waiver of our sovereign rights or as a consent to state jurisdiction over tribal lands or tribal affairs. Our filing is a voluntary action in order to promote better understanding and communication between the state and our Eastern Pequot Nation, and to protect and preserve the rights of all tribal members as well as the sovereign rights of our government."

<sup>21</sup> This discussion on the CIAC and the Eastern Pequot Tribe is based on, in part: Eastern Pequot Membership Hearing 1976; Eastern Pequot Membership Hearing 1977; Eastern Paucatuck Pequot Decision 1983; Leff to Thompson 1989; newspaper articles, as cited; and field interviews (Starna 1997).

<sup>22</sup> Factionalism is "a type of overt conflict within a given social system" where traditional control mechanisms fail, and the dispute "continues unresolved and unregulated." Almost always, such conflicts originate from a single structural level, such as a council of local leaders or a clique made up of politically or economically well-positioned individuals. As such conflicts persist, they are ramified to other levels or to other sectors of the social system (Clifton 1972:186).

<sup>23</sup> Franklin Cleveland Obededom Williams (1885-1949) claimed a right to live on the Eastern Pequot reservation through his mother, Sarah Sebastian, Tamer Brushell Sebastian's daughter, and by birth, a member of the Eastern Pequot Tribe (Williams n.d.a). His name first appears on the overseer's reports for the Eastern Pequot Tribe in 1930, and is not found on the 1935 overseer's report for the "Ledyard Tribe of Pequot Indians" (Raymond 1935).

<sup>24</sup> This American Indian Federation is not to be confused with the national organization of the same name which formed in 1934 (Hauptman 1996).

<sup>25</sup> At least two tribal elders suggested that Atwood Williams may have taken exception to tribal members whose black ancestry was phenotypically expressed, and there is a suggestion that he was vocal in his views on this issue: "Williams believes in keeping the Indian blood as pure as possible and has endeavored to impress this important fact on the members of the two reservations" (*Hartford Courant*, 9 July 1933; Starna 1997).

<sup>26</sup> In 1937 Gilbert Raymond, an overseer of the Eastern Pequot Tribe, reported that Chief Silver Star, "claims that the Indian girl, Tamer Brussels [*sic*], was not a Pequot Indian, but as members of this family [descendants of Tamer Brushell, i.e., the Sebastian family] have been entered on the records of both tribes for over 40 years, I have never taken steps to have those names removed" (*Norwich Bulletin*, 10 June 1937). Therefore, until Atwood Williams, there had been no dispute regarding Tamer Brushell's descendants. Nevertheless, in the Superior Court order of 1933, discussed in detail below, Atwood Williams apparently had reversed his opinion, concurring with the judge's decision that recognized the membership of the Eastern Pequot Tribe, a membership that included Sebastians and Sebastian kin (New London Superior Court 1933; *Norwich Bulletin* 18 June 1933).

In a 1991 newspaper article, Roy Sebastian acknowledged that Atwood Williams may have initiated what was clearly a family dispute among the Eastern Pequots: "In the 1930s, Atwood Williams Sr., [Agnes] Cunha's grandfather and a leader of The American Indian Federation, an Indian cultural revival movement, challenged the Sebastian's Indian ancestry and right to live on the reservation. 'That's when the hostility and hatred probably began,' Roy Sebastian said" (*Hartford Courant*, 28 October 1991).

<sup>27</sup> In 1934 Williams had protested, "on general principles," the reappointment of the tribe's overseer, and in 1935, the process by which overseers were appointed (*New London Day*, 5 June 1934, 7 March 1935). See also, Williams c. 1937:25).

<sup>28</sup> The following comment appears in Atwood Williams's state genealogical record: "Atwood I. Williams 'Chief Silver Star' appears to be a self appointed Chief whose influence in quite largely gone (1936)" (Williams n.d.b).

A very recent claim by the LeGault/Cunha faction, which does not appear to be documented, is that Atwood Williams was "elected" chief of the Western and Eastern Pequot Tribes sometime in the 1920s.

- <sup>29</sup> This is the membership list that, in the context of the 1933 Superior Court order, was agreed to and approved by Atwood Williams.
- <sup>30</sup> Three years earlier, LeGault had written the following to the State Welfare Department: "This could be a rumor, but, I have been informed that another family of Sebastians are about to embark on the reservation, it seems people who have no rights (legal rights I should say) just come and take over the Indian Reservation which, has been set aside for the purpose of giving these people a place to live the rest of their natural lives without paying taxes, etc., when I say this I mean real Indians, not Portugese [*sic*] or Negroes" (LeGault to State Welfare Department 1969).
- <sup>31</sup> Ruth Geer, a member of the LeGault faction, applied for residency on the Eastern Pequot reservation in 1973, the same time that Roy Sebastian, Benjamin Sebastian, and Lawrence Sebastian filed their applications. Lillian Sebastian had an agreement regarding her residency dated 1957, while Arthur Sebastian's was dated 1938 (see Residents of Eastern Pequot Reservation c. 1973).
- <sup>32</sup> In contrast to the actions of the LeGault faction, Roy Sebastian indicated that, for the purposes of the CIAC, the Eastern Pequot Tribe had organized and written its bylaws in 1975 and 1976 (CIAC Hearing 1983:22, 24).
- <sup>33</sup> One tribal elder remarked that the LeGault faction "accepted the older generation [of Sebastian's on the reservation], but not the younger" (Starna 1997).
- <sup>34</sup> Meetings between the leaders of the Eastern Pequot Tribe and the LeGault faction resulted in a draft document entitled: "Proposed Agreement and Resolution Between the Paucatuck Eastern Pequots [the LeGault faction] and the Eastern Pequot Indians of Connecticut" (see Proposed Agreement n.d.).
- <sup>35</sup> See, for example, White to Office of the Attorney General 1992; also, *New London Day*, 4 September 1992.

## Criterion (d)

*A copy of the group's present governing document including its membership criteria. In the absence of a written document, the petitioner must provide a statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures.*

\* \* \*

Document to be forwarded by the Eastern Pequot Tribe.





## Criterion (e)

*The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.*

\* \* \*

### Summary

- Historical evidence indicates that intertribal marriages were typical in Native southern New England, and that, as eligible native partners declined in numbers, eastern Pequots and their neighbors occasionally married non-Indians, or people of mixed ancestry.
- Eastern Pequot tribal membership was not determined strictly by descent; ascription, residence, marriage, and adoption also played a role.
- Overseer's records do not constitute reliable records of the entirety of Eastern Pequot membership.
- A summary of petitions submitted by the Eastern Pequot community to colonial and state officials, and a chronological listing of overseer's reports establishes a direct connection between the contemporary Eastern Pequot Tribe and the historical Eastern Pequot tribe.

The basis from which the Eastern Pequot Tribe meets criterion (e) of the federal acknowledgment regulations, presented and discussed in detail below, is summarized as follows:

- All of the current membership of the Eastern Pequot Tribe is traceable to the 1870, 1900, or 1910 federal censuses, where the tribe and its membership are identified as, and historically linked to: (1) the "Indians in North Stonington" (1870 federal census); (2) the "Indian Population" of "North Stonington Town" (1900 federal census); and (3) on the 1910 special federal census of the Indian population of the United States, as "Pequot" Indians of the "Indian reservation" in North Stonington town. These censuses, therefore, constitute a "base list" for the determination of membership in the Eastern Pequot Tribe.
- There has been continuous colonial and state recognition of the Eastern Pequot Tribe from 1683 to the present. For over 300 years the Eastern Pequot Tribe has stood in a government-to-government relationship with the colony and state of Connecticut.

## Introduction

To a considerable extent, the history of the Pequots is similar to that of virtually all of the Indian tribes that have inhabited southern New England. At contact the aboriginal populations of southern New England resided in an unknown number of small villages, hamlets, and farmsteads situated in coastal/estuarine, riverine, and interior/upland environments.<sup>36</sup> Such a settlement pattern is best described as dispersed, with habitation sites shifting from place to place and season to season, reflective of the subsistence practices of the Indians of the region.

The existence of trade networks before and after the arrival of the Europeans provides another indicator of the mobility of Indians in southern New England. For centuries, food stuffs, raw materials, and finished products were carried over short- and long-distance trade routes in the region, putting individuals and groups of Indians in frequent contact with one another. Interaction between and among groups also followed from the many multivillage alliances that are known to have existed early in the historic period. Such networks, which were most often political and economic in nature, were intensified as a response to the organizational needs that had developed from a burgeoning fur, food, and wampum trade, and contact with European state-level governments.

Confirmation of the high level of interaction that took place between native groups in southern New England, a consequence of subsistence strategies, trade, and alliance formation, is found in language and marriage patterns. Bragdon (1993, 1996) has determined that Indian communities in southern New England were multilingual (or multidialectal) in two or more related languages. For Indian tribes throughout the Northeast, then as well as now, these communities were also multiethnic in their composition.<sup>37</sup>

Multilingualism was associated primarily with or followed from the exchange of marriage partners and adoptive children between groups, although a secondary factor may have been captive-taking during periods of warfare. According to Bragdon, such multilingualism facilitated trade and the formation of political alliances, and provided an effective means of communication that extended over a geographically wide area. Supporting her argument, in part, is the long-recognized lack of concurrence or correlation between the known political boundaries and linguistic boundaries separating Indian peoples in seventeenth-century southern New England (cf. Goddard 1978; Snow 1980).

By the mid-seventeenth century, intermarriages between the Pequots, Narragansetts, Mohegans, and Eastern Niantics had taken on added significance, especially for high status or "elite" individuals. For example, Pequot women from ranking lineages were sought as marriage partners by men from surrounding tribes who were intent on achieving increased social and political status. Underlying such unions was the desire to attract and control the numbers of Pequot refugees who had survived the 1637 war (McBride 1996:76-78). Such activities did not go unnoticed by concerned colonial officials, who believed that the Indians would use these marriages "to gather together and reunite the scattered conquered Pequots into one body and sett them upp againe as a distinct nation" (cited in *ibid.*:77).

Intermarriages between members of tribes located in southern New England, including those on eastern Long Island, continued into the eighteenth century. The extensive records of the Moravian missions in western Connecticut, for example, provide a detailed chronicle of the high mobility of Indians in the colony generally, as they travelled from their reservations and praying towns to barter or sell manufactured goods and foodstuffs, visited relatives in Indian communities spread throughout the region, and importantly, searched out marriage partners (Moravian Records 1747-1763).<sup>38</sup>

The established practice of intermarriage that prevailed among the Indian communities resident in southern New England was reinforced, if not intensified, by a number of other factors. The most obvious was the decline in native populations that began shortly after contact, a consequence of epidemic diseases which swept through New England and continued in their devastation of Indian communities for many decades (Snow 1980). The reduced numbers of adults in one Indian community compelled individuals there to seek marriage partners in other Indian communities, undoubtedly increasing the frequency of intermarriage when compared to earlier periods.

Although no anti-miscegenation statutes per se were passed in colonial Connecticut or Rhode Island, other laws served to socially isolate American Indian populations and their communities. For example, in 1665 the citizens of Connecticut were ordered not to "take up their abode with the Indians, in a prophane course of life" or to "departe from us and settle or joine with the Indians" (Trumbull 1850:530). Other statutes restricted Indian movements, placed Indians in the same social category as the "negro, servant or slave," with all of the accompanying provisos, and encouraged Indian people to establish their own "villages of the natives," separate from those of non-Indians (Laws 1979:38, 43). In 1696 Rhode Island enacted a law prohibiting "negroes and Indians from being abroad at unreasonable times of the night" (*ibid.*: 53).

The effect of these and other laws, of course, was to limit Indian social interaction to that with other Indians and people of color, primarily African-Americans. Contacts between Indians and whites were, for all intents and purposes, prohibited, either by statute or, not incidentally, by religious doctrine (*cf.* Axtell 1985). It is no surprise, then, that for the most part, Indian people married other Indian people, either within or outside of their home communities and villages. This was historically the case for the Eastern Pequots, the Western Pequots, the Narragansetts, and the other Indians living in southern New England.<sup>39</sup>

The traditional and historical practice of intermarriage described above has had no effect whatever on the political or sociocultural integrity of the Indian tribes in southern New England. A tribe determines its membership for itself, ordinarily employing cultural conventions common to all such ethnic units: ascription, marriage, adoption, and others. The membership thus identifies itself, and is identified by others, as a category distinguishable from all other such entities.<sup>40</sup>

### **Criterion (e) of the Acknowledgment Regulations**

To meet criterion (e), *viz.*, that "the petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity," the regulations explicitly stipulate that "ancestry need only be

traced to rolls and/or other documents created when their ancestors can be identified clearly as affiliated with the historical tribe” (Federal Register 25 February 1994, 59[38]:9288). The Eastern Pequot Tribe and its membership are identified as, and historically linked to: (1) the “Indians in North Stonington,” on the 1870 federal census; (2) the “Indian Population” of “North Stonington Town,” in the 1900 federal census; and (3) on the 1910 special federal census of the Indian population of the United States, as “Pequot” Indians of the “Indian reservation” in North Stonington town. All individuals who appear on the current tribal roll of the Eastern Pequot Tribe trace their ancestry to one or more individuals who appear on either the 1870, 1900, or 1910 federal censuses, as specified in the tribe’s membership rules. The vast majority of these individuals are identified as “Pequots.” Therefore, the Eastern Pequot Tribe meets fully criterion (e) of the acknowledgment regulations.

### **Connection to the Historical Eastern Pequot Tribe: Supplementary Evidence**

What follows is an inventory of the petitions or memorials filed by the Eastern Pequot Tribe and its leaders with the colony and state of Connecticut. Also included is a chronological tabulation of the appointments of overseers and the reports they submitted on the Eastern Pequot Tribe. This documentation establishes, beyond question, a direct connection between the contemporary Eastern Pequot Tribe and the historical Eastern Pequot Tribe, “the Pequots of North Stonington,” whose reservation was established in 1683. A discussion of the tribal members whose names appear on the overseer reports is presented under criterion (b).

\* \* \*

#### **1683**

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Connecticut purchases a 280 acre tract of land for the Pequots of Stonington (the Eastern Pequot Tribe) near Long Pond and Lantern Hill (Campisi 1990:118-119; Hurd 1882:30, 32; DeForest 1851:262-263), constituting the tribe’s present reservation.

#### **1698**

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Petition of the “principall men” of the Eastern Pequots (IP, I:48-48b).

#### **1723**

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Petition of Momoho’s men [Eastern Pequots]. There are more than 130 tribal members (IP, 2nd, II:22-22b).

#### **1749**

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Memorial of the “Pequod Indians of ye Tribe of Momohor” (IP, II:40).

**1763**

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Overseers appointed to the "Indian Inhabitants of the Town of Stonington" (IP, II:250).

**1766**

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Memorial of the "Indian Inhabitants of the Town of Stonington" (IP, II:250).

Petition of "Pequot Indians Living in Stonington" (IP, II:251).

**1788**

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Petition of the "Indians of the pequod Tribe in Stonington" (IP, II:252).

**1800**

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Memorials of the "tribe of Indians living in the town of Stonington" (IP, 2nd, II:105-106).

**1804**

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Overseers appointed to the "Tribe of Indians Living at Stonington" (IP, 2nd, II:107).

**1808**

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Auditors appointed to review overseer accounts of the "Stonington Indians" (IP, nd, II:108).

**1814**

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Overseers appointed to the "Indians in the Town of North-Stonington" (IP, 2nd, I:108).

**1815**

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Overseers appointed to the "Stonington tribe of Indians" (IP, 2nd, I:18).

"The said tribes of Indians [Stonington and Groton] reside near the borders of said towns and near each other, and consist of about two hundred souls . . . that among these Indians there are about Fifty children and youths" (IP, 2nd, I:18).

**1819**

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Overseers appointed to the "North Stonington tribe of Indians" (IP, 2nd, I:109).

**1820**

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President Timothy Dwight of the Connecticut General Assembly visits the Stonington reservation. He reports that there are 150 individuals resident on reservation lands (DeForest 1851:442).

Overseer appointed to the "Tribe of Indians in the Town of North Stonington (IP, 2nd, I:110).

**March 1823 - 1824 (date at end: 11 March 1824)**

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Overseer report. *Please note:* The State of Connecticut overseer reports are located in the file marked, "Overseer Reports."

**1824 (allowed, March 1825)**

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Overseer report.

**April 1827 - April 1829**

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Overseer report.

**March 1829 - June 1831**

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Overseer report.

**June 1831 - June 1832**

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Overseer report.

**June 1832 - November 1833**

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Overseer report.

**November 1833 - February 1834**

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Overseer report.

**June 1835 - June 1836**

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Overseer report.

**June 1838 - June 1839**

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Overseer report.

**June 1839 - May 1840**

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Overseer report.

**1841**

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Petition of the "Pequot Tribe of Indian residents in North Stonington" (File: Petitions).

**June 1840 - May 1841**

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Overseer report.

**June 1841 - June 1842**

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Overseer report.

**June 1842 - May 1843**

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Overseer report.

**June 1843 - April 1844**

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Overseer report.

**June 1845 - June 1846**

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Overseer report.

**June 1846 - April 1847**

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Overseer report.

**July 1847 - April 1848**

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Overseer report.

**June 1849 - April 1850**

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Overseer report.

**June 1850 - June 1851**

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Overseer report.

**November 1851 - June 1852**

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Overseer report.

**July 1852 - June 1853**

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Overseer report.

**June 1854 - June 1855**

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Overseer report.

**July 1855 - August 1856**

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Overseer report.

**August 1856 - September 1857**

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Overseer report.

**9 September 1857**

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Overseer report.

**September 1857 - August 1858 [incomplete]**

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Overseer report.

**August 1858 - July 1859**

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Overseer report.

**September 1859 - August 1860**

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Overseer report.

**September 1860 - August 1861**

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Overseer report.

**September 1861 - August 1862**

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Overseer report.

**September 1862 - September 1863**

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Overseer report.

**September 1863 - September 1864**

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Overseer report.

**September 1864 - August 1865**

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Overseer report.

**September 1865 - December 1866**

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Overseer report.

**February 1866 - August 1867**

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Overseer report.

**November 1867 - April 1868**

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Overseer report.

**June 1868 - March 1869**

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Overseer report.

**March 1869 - March 1870**

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Overseer report.

**1870**

---

Ninth Census of the United States. Indians in North Stonington.

**April 1870 - April 1871**

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Overseer report.

**April 1871 - April 1872**

---

Overseer report.



**1873**

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Petition of the "Pequot tribe of Indians of North Stonington" (File: Petitions).

**May 1872 - April 1873**

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Overseer report.

**27 June 1873**

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Overseer report.

**April 1873 to April 1874**

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Overseer report.

**1874**

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Petition of the "Pequot tribe of Indians of North Stonington" (File: Petitions).

**April 1874 - April 1875**

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Overseer report.

**April 1878 to April 1879**

---

Overseer report.

**1881**

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Overseer report.

**1883**

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Petition of the "Pequot Tribe of Indians in the Town of North Stonington" (File: Petitions).

**1889 - 1890**

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Overseer report.

**1890 - 1891**

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Overseer report.

**1900**

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Twelfth Census of the United States - Indian Population.

**1910**

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Thirteenth Census of the United States - Indian Population.

**1910 - 1911 [crossed out]**  
**1911 - 1912 [written in]**

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Overseer report.

**1911 - 1912**

---

Overseer report.

**1912 - 1913**

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Overseer report.

**1913 - 1914**

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Overseer report.

**1914 - 1915**

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Overseer report.

**1914 [crossed out] -**  
**1915 - 1916 [written in]**

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Overseer report.

**1915 [crossed out] -**  
**1916 - 1917 [written in]**

---

Overseer report.

**1916 [crossed out] -**  
**1917 - 1918 [written in]**

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Overseer report.

**1917 [crossed out] -**  
**1918 - 1917 [written in]**

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Overseer report.

**1918 [crossed out] -**  
**1919 - 1920 [written in]**

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Overseer report.

**1919 [crossed out] -**  
**1920 - 1921 [written in]**

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Overseer report.

**1920 [crossed out] -  
1921 - 1922 [written in]**

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Overseer report.

**1921 [crossed out] -  
1922 - 1923 [written in]**

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Overseer report.

**1928 - 1929**

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Overseer report.

**1930**

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Overseer report.

**1931**

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Overseer report.

**1932**

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Overseer report.

**1933**

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Overseer report.

**1934**

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Overseer report.

**1935**

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Overseer report.

**1936**

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Report of State Park and Forest Commission, Lantern Hill Reservation.

**1940**

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State Park and Forest Commission, North Stonington Reservation.

\* \* \*

The evidence presented in this section demonstrates that the membership of the Eastern Pequot Tribe consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity. Therefore, the tribe meets fully the requirements of criterion (e) of the regulations.



Figure 11. Powwow, Eastern Pequot reservation.

## Tribal Roll - Eastern Pequot Tribe

The tribal roll of the Eastern Pequot Tribe is presented here in two sections, each with separate pagination [see Appendix F].

### ENDNOTES

- <sup>36</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, this discussion is based on Snow (1980), Starna (1990), McBride (1990), and Bragdon (1996).
- <sup>37</sup> In spite of their multilingual and multiethnic make-up, groups in southern New England and elsewhere in the Northeast identified themselves using a single name. For example, the federally recognized St. Regis (Akwesasne) Mohawk Tribe has among its members not only ethnic Mohawks, but also Onondagas, Cayugas, Abenakis, and other Iroquoians and Algonquians. In New England, often diverse groups of Indian people combined in "Praying Towns," who then reorganized themselves into single, self-identified Indian tribes. Examples include the federally recognized Stockbridge-Munsee Tribe and the Brothertown Indians, a tribe that was formed in the late eighteenth century from seven separate Indian communities whose homelands were in southern New England and on Long Island.
- <sup>38</sup> The Moravian Records cited have been transcribed and translated by Corinna Dally-Starna, and are on file in the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center Archives, Mashantucket, Connecticut.
- <sup>39</sup> Several tribal members indicated that, as unmarried young adults, they attended the Narragansett powwows because they knew they would meet other unmarried Indians to whom they were not related. For the most

part, the unmarried adults they encountered in their own tribe, the Eastern Pequot Tribe, were close relatives (Burgess 1997).

<sup>40</sup> The historic practice of intermarriage between members of the several Indian tribes resident in southeastern Connecticut and western Rhode Island is an example of what is termed "patterned outmarriage" in the acknowledgment regulations, and is described in several recent findings by the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (see, for example, Snoqualmie and Match-E-Be-Nah-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomis Indians of Michigan).



## Criterion (f)

*The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe.*

\* \* \*

The membership of the Eastern Pequot Tribe is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian Tribe.

**NOTE WELL:** No member of the Eastern Pequot Tribe is eligible for membership in any federally recognized or federally acknowledged North American Indian Tribe.





## Criterion (g)

*Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.*

\* \* \*

Neither the Eastern Pequot Tribe nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.



## Sources Cited

The sources listed below are those cited in criterion (b), (c), and (e) of the Eastern Pequot Petition, photocopies of which have been placed in the file, "Sources Cited." An exception has been made for newspaper articles, which, in nearly every instance where they are cited, are located in the file, "Criterion (a): Documents." Legal citations remain in the text.

Much of the material cited below was submitted previously by the Eastern Pequot Tribe to the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research. However, to facilitate the review of its petition, the tribe has reorganized this documentation and presents it here in a more accessible form. Newly cited sources will be found only with this submission.

**NB** — Without exception, every source cited in the text of the Eastern Pequot Petition for Federal Acknowledgment, in addition to those found in the tribe's previous submission, whether it is a book, journal article, government document, public record, or correspondence, is, by reference, included in its entirety as part of the administrative record.

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